






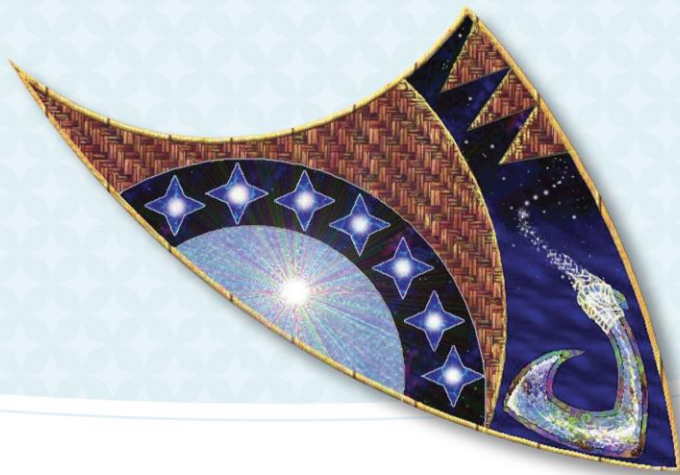


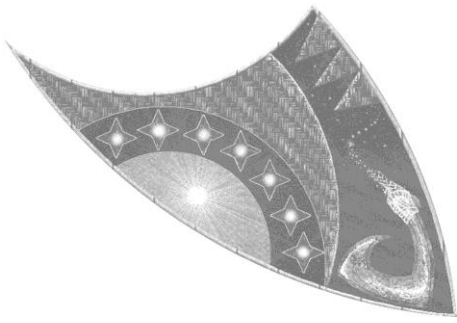


-  COOK ISLANDS
-  FIJI
-  NIUE
-  SĀMOA
-  TOKELAU
-  TONGA
-  TUVALU

Nga vaka o kāiga tapu

A Pacific Conceptual
Framework to address family
violence in New Zealand





La Tapu (Sacred Sail)

The basic shape is that of a Pacific canoe sail. This represents the vaka/canoe which is important in traditional Pacific navigation and exploring new horizons.

The fishhook represents sustainability as well as traditional knowledge. The fishhook colour shows

the colours of the paua shell, which represents our migration to New Zealand and adapting to a new way of life while maintaining our traditions. The fishhook is linked to a spiritual cord which disappears up to the heavens. This represents our link as Pacific Islanders with our creator and the importance of our traditional and contemporary belief system. The background of the fish hook represents the sea which merges into a star filled night sky. These natural elements were the navigator's pathways to new horizons.

The triangular patterns above the fishhook is a common design motif found in all Pacific cultures. I used this pattern to represent a common thread found between the Pacific Islands.

The woven pattern represents the Kaiga (family), as a close knit unit. Each member in the Kaiga has a role and purpose in the same way each strand supports one another.

The seven stars represent the seven Pacific Island nations/groups of; Cook Islands, Niue, Sāmoa, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tonga and Tokelau. Together, they represent a collective star formation which provides support and guidance to the vulnerable. To the left of the arched 7 stars is a lagoon with a radiating light emanating outwards. The lagoon represents a safe and protected environment. The radiating light represents a new life nurtured within this safe environment while surrounded and supported by family, cultural knowledge, belief, and alofa (love).

Tiaki Fati Kirifi – Tokelau.

Foreword



Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, me te miro whero.

There is but a single eye of the needle through which white, black and red threads must pass.

– *Potatau Te Wherowhero*

I have always believed that culture is a vital ingredient for building relationships and meaningful engagement. It is culture that provides us with our unique perspectives, and also culture which often defines the ways we behave, and relate to the world, and shapes our values as collectives of people.

I am pleased to present this publication, *Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu*, not only because it presents a courageous approach to addressing family violence, but also because it is the first Framework of its kind in New Zealand.

This publication threads together the strands of knowledge and culture from seven different Pacific nations. It treats each strand as a culture specific model, while also binding them together to produce the relational Pacific Conceptual Framework to address family violence.

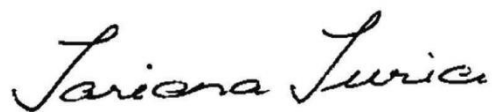
Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu was born out of a collaborative process of regional fono run by the Pacific Advisory Group on family violence. The culmination of these events led to a national gathering called the Champions of Change fono, the participants of which collectively identified that culture must be the basis for constructing any solution to family violence.

As we know, there is no one Pacific culture, so the need to be respectful of each of the seven nations – the Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Sāmoa, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu – and their own ethnic specific values and views was vital.

Culture is always evolving, and therefore any framework developed for Pacific Nations must also be evolutionary. That is the intention of this document, which brings together not only our cultural perspectives on family violence, but also concepts of wellbeing.

It is this focus on our cultural strength as a means of achieving wellbeing that also underpins Whanau Ora as a model for collective development. It is a philosophy that I have much faith in, and am pleased to see that other cultures share my belief in how we move our communities to a place of wellbeing.

I would like to commend those who participated in the development of this Framework, from community members, through to academics, youth, church ministers, cultural experts and practitioners. I also acknowledge the support of the Pacific Advisory Group, and Family and Community Services, in leading this work and creating this wonderful Pacific Conceptual Framework, *Nga Vaka o Kāinga Tapu*.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Tariana Turia'. The script is fluid and cursive, with the first name 'Tariana' and last name 'Turia' clearly distinguishable.

Hon Tariana Turia

Associate Minister for Social Development

Message from Chair of the Pacific Advisory Group



O le a uia le ala o le lupe – we want to trace the pathway of the pigeon, a flight of majesty, certainty and ultimate destiny.

The message of the metaphor above reflects our search for a way ahead to allow our communities to come to terms with the reality of family violence and the costly impact of such a debilitating intrusion into the lives of our children, our families and our villages in Aotearoa New Zealand.

And the challenge has always been about finding our own solutions and taking responsibility, with the support of the government to find that way forward.

It's this challenge that the Pacific Advisory Group (PAG) to the Government Taskforce on Family Violence has taken up with courage and determination. Over the last three years PAG has engaged widely with our local and regional communities in candid conversations to help focus our collective efforts in finding workable and sustainable solutions to family violence. PAG has also sought advice and support from those at the service provision coalface, as well as hosting a nationwide fono to find common agreement on the way forward.

And the overwhelming view of the road ahead from that engagement is “to explore the role of our cultures” as a solution to ending family violence. This led to the comprehensive development of ethnic specific cultural frameworks to help inform an ethnic specific training programme that will address outcomes in the area of family violence. It is the first-ever work of its kind in this country.

Led by PAG, the suite of publications for the Pacific Conceptual Framework is the result of this pioneering initiative involving cultural knowledge holders, church ministers, practitioners, researchers and academics, writers, youth groups, social service providers and their leaders, and cultural translators from seven Pacific Island groups.

The sacred knowledge, traditional values and illuminating genealogies are shared in each of the ethnic specific Frameworks as are the implications for models of practice.

We are approaching family violence from a positive and highly aspirational space – our cultures are enriching and they point to our achieving heritage and our proud traditions of who we are. These Frameworks will communicate these messages and help bring them to life as we strengthen our community's resolve to restore and maintain our wellbeing.

And while family violence is the area of focus here, the cultural framing work undertaken in this initiative will be equally applicable across all social policy areas: welfare, justice, health, housing, employment, ACC and local government.

PAG owes a debt of gratitude to a true friend of the Pacific, Hon Tariana Turia, for her invaluable commitment to our journey and making funding available to help kickstart our search and implementation of our solutions to family violence.

Tariana, *ia manuia ou faiva ma ia fa'afualoa e le Matai Sili lou soifua* – may your endeavours continue to be blessed, and may the Almighty Matai give you long life.

And my sincere thanks and appreciation to all who have contributed to *Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu* and to PAG members Judge Ida Malosi, Peseta Betty Sio, Mokauina Fueamana-Ngaro, Yvonne Crichton-Hill and Emeline Afeaki-Mafile'o and former members Alfred Ngaro MP, Nuku Rapana, Dr Semisi Prescott and Ali'imua Sandra Alofivae for their leadership and unstinting commitment to our work. And a special thank you to Malo Ah-You for his guidance as the ministerial advisor on PAG.

To Murray Edridge and the Family and Community Services team from the Ministry of Social Development, to Marie Schmidt for skilfully managing this project and to Maiava Carmel Peteru for leading the writing of our work – I want to thank you all for your diligence and support.

And last but not least, I want to express our gratitude to the seven ethnic specific working groups and their leaders and writers, who toiled and gifted their sacred treasures to our cause – we are truly blessed by your generosity.

And to all our children, our families and our communities – we wish you all God's grace and a future free from violence and harm.

Soifua

Fa'amatua Tino Pereira
Chair, Pacific Advisory Group

Translation and explanation of the title

Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu means 'The Sailing Vessels of Sacred Families'.

The title is composed of words that have the same, or similar, meanings in two or more languages of the seven Pacific communities¹ represented in this project.

The seven *vaka* symbolise the independent worldviews and bodies of knowledge that are unique to each ethnic group. They contain concepts and values that protect and strengthen family wellbeing, and which bring about strong and vibrant families. *Vaka* are the ethical compasses that direct and orientate individuals towards honouring human relationships in families, and in communities of identity and belonging.

Kāiga are past and living families inscribed in genealogies. Through genealogies, places of belonging, the designations of roles, and obligations to family are understood. How we live as *kāiga* today is the heritage that we leave for tomorrow's generations.

A concept whose meaning is shared by the seven groups is *fakalilifu*, *fa'aaloalo*, *faka'apa'apa*, *vakarokoroko*, *vaerua* 'akangāteitei, and *fakaaloalo*. In English, this notion is glossed as 'respect'. Relationships of 'respect' between family members are *tapu*. *Tapu* is a core element of spiritual beliefs and practices, and echoes the cosmogonic origins of many Pacific communities. *Tapu* of people can be understood as forbidden to the ordinary and mundane. *Tapu* is sacredness and implies the presence and protection of God/s and divinities. Such relationships are defined and regulated by cultural protocols and etiquette, which demand the observance of appropriate behaviour, thought and speech between family members. *Tapu* protects and attends to the boundaries of human relationships within *kāiga*.

¹ Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Sāmoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu.

Use of terms in this document

- Family refers to close and extended collectives and groups of kin, and the diverse kinship arrangements that are described and defined by each ethnic group.
- The word 'close' (family) is used instead of nuclear (family). The preferred term 'close' signifies that the terms for relationships within and between kin arrangements are indicators of genealogical proximity. Close families are extensions of the wider collective – the extended family. In each of the seven ethnic communities, family collectives are described in terms of highly organised structures of kinship arrangements. The roles and functions of kinship 'groups and sub-groups' differ across the seven communities.
- The term Pacific refers to the combined seven ethnic groups.
- Culture is the philosophical/conceptual worldviews and tangible practices of the independent ethnic groups.
- Wellbeing is variously described by the seven ethnic groups. The shared elements of individual and family wellbeing are:
 - harmony, peace, balance and abundance in all areas of the individual's and family's lives: the physical, mental, spiritual, psychological and environmental dimensions
 - each family member understanding and fulfilling their roles and responsibilities in close and extended families.
- No one concept on its own achieves wellbeing. Supporting or attendant concepts must be present in order for wellbeing to be fully realised. When all the concepts are correctly understood and practised, wellbeing is achieved.

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Executive summary

The framework: *Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu*

- is a conceptual framework for addressing family violence in seven Pacific communities in New Zealand. It is informed by, and aligned with, the seven ethnic specific conceptual reports on addressing family violence, and a literature review (refer Figure 1)
- is intended as a guide for policy writers. It defines and explains meanings of family, violence, and key concepts and principles that promote family wellbeing for the seven ethnic specific communities
- along with the seven ethnic specific conceptual frameworks will inform the development of a training programme to assist ethnic specific practitioners, and service providers and non-Pacific practitioners working with Pacific victims(s), perpetrator(s) and families affected by family violence
- takes a strengths-based approach. This approach begins with the premise that wellbeing, peace and harmony are states that all Pacific people aspire to, and that core aspects of culture are significant in maintaining and restoring wellbeing to families
- is a relational framework underpinned by the belief that all people and things are interconnected and interdependent. It brings together shared concepts and principles that promote wellbeing across the seven ethnic groups, without disturbing their essential meanings
- is a living document. As new knowledge is introduced to the ethnic specific frameworks, *Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu* will also evolve.

The seven frameworks are

- grounded in key concepts, values and beliefs that are relevant and appropriate to addressing violence in families living in diverse settings and circumstances
- not definitive or authoritative documents on any one cultural belief and practice, nor are they intended to replace existing service provider and practitioner approaches.

The desire of the ethnic specific Working Groups is that their conceptual frameworks assist their practitioners, service providers, and mainstream organisations in:

- their work with ethnic specific victims, perpetrators, and families who have been affected by family violence
- grounding their experiences and knowledge in elements of their ethnic specific culture in ways that are responsive and relevant to the diverse experiences of families.

Ongoing revision and evaluation of practice approaches ensure that the ethnic specific frameworks and *Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu* are dynamic and relevant to the lived experiences of families and individuals.

For the purposes of this project, the Frameworks address issues of family violence; however, they can also be used across a broad spectrum of sectoral and inter-sectoral service provider programmes for individuals and families belonging to any one of these ethnic communities.

Figure 1. Key documents on addressing violence in seven ethnic specific communities



FALEVITU

A Literature Review on Culture and Family Violence
in Seven Pacific Communities in New Zealand

Overview

- **Vision:** the overall vision of the Framework is to achieve wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families and individuals in Cook Islands Māori, Fijian, Niuean, Sāmoan, Tokelau, Tongan and Tuvaluan communities.
- **Continuums of wellbeing:** include the physical, spiritual, mental, psychological and emotional dimensions of human beings. Wellbeing occurs when all aspects of the individual and collective are in balance, in harmony and integrated, and co-exist with environments, kinship and support systems, language, fulfilment of roles and responsibilities, and the recognition of *mana* and *tapu*.
- **Ethnic specific concepts, principles and values:** are interdependent and on their own do not fulfil the purpose or potential of their meanings. A single concept is dependent on the active attendance of related concepts to provide meaning and give emphasis to nuances.
- **Elements of the Framework:** *akono'anga Māori* (Cook Islands Māori); *tovo vaka Viti* (Fiji); *aga fakaNiue* (Niue); *aganu'u Sāmoa* (Sāmoa); *tū ma aganuku o Tokelau* (Tokelau); *anga fakaTonga* (Tonga); *tu mo faifaiga faka Tuvalu* (Tuvalu) contain the “expressions of knowledge, beliefs, customs, morals, arts and personality” (Turanga Māori, 2012) of their peoples. They are independently and collectively referred to in this document as culture. Although there are aspects of concepts and principles that are shared, the origins and traditional and contemporary practices are unique to each ethnic community.
- **Practice imperatives:** the imperatives are informed by ethnic specific concepts and principles, and practitioner standards of practice:
 - Each imperative is context specific and should be understood and applied within the definitions of that ethnic group. These principles of best practice will evolve as new knowledge emerges.
 - Ethnic specific worldviews are highly under-theorised in all issues related to these communities. Critical thought and analysis, and ethnic specific research are areas that require attention in efforts to develop comprehensive and robust databases.
 - Language is identified as a crucial entry point to understanding traditional and contemporary worldviews of any one culture. English is also important in engaging with non-speakers and communicating traditional and contemporary worldviews. An effective practitioner is conceptually fluent in both languages.
 - One reality of service delivery is that these are largely defined by Western models and their expectations. Practitioners need to be able to negotiate the broader relationships between mainstream institutions and ethnic specific families to ensure that the cultural values and beliefs that support and reinforce positions of wellbeing for these families are not compromised.

Four areas were emphasised as important features in an education programme aimed at building and restoring relationships within families: fluency in the ethnic specific and English languages; understanding values; understanding the principles of respectful relationships and the nature of connections and relationships between family members within the context of ethnic specific cultures; the correct understanding and application of strengths-based values and principles. These must all be practised together as interdependent entities, otherwise “[o]n their own they are simply cultural concepts isolated in space” (Turanga Māori, 2012).

Factors that protect family wellbeing

Reciprocity, respect, genealogy, observance of *tapu* relationships, language and belonging are concepts that are shared across the seven ethnic specific communities as elements that protect and strengthen family and individual wellbeing. It is important to note that the English translations of these concepts do not reflect the depth or contexts of their meanings, or the unique and diverse ways in which they are lived out in the day-to-day practices of each ethnic community. Reference must be made to each ethnic specific publication.

Factors that contribute to family violence

Situational factors: including socio-economic disadvantage; migration; culture and identity.

Cultural factors: including beliefs that women are subordinate to men; perceptions and beliefs about what constitutes violence; (mis) interpretation of concepts, values and beliefs about *tapu* relationships between family members including children and the elderly; unresolved historical and intergenerational issues; fusion of cultural and religious beliefs and their (mis) interpretations.

Religious factors: including (mis) interpretations of Biblical texts; fusion of cultural and religious beliefs and their (mis) interpretations.

Violence and violations

The seven Working Groups defined violence as violations of *tapu* (forbidden and divine sacredness) of victims, perpetrators and their families. Violence “threatens family stability, and shatters and tears down all that holds the family together” (Vuvala Doka Sautu, 2012) with devastating impact on the wellbeing of victim(s), perpetrator(s) and their families, “leading to volatile families” (Vuvala Doka Sautu, 2012; Toku Fou Tiale, 2012).

Violence disconnects victims and perpetrators from the continuum of wellbeing and transgresses the *tapu* (Turanga Māori, 2012). It is an “aberration of wellbeing (Koe Fakatupuolamoui he tau Magafaoa Niue, 2012), and is a disruption of the balance and harmony of relationships of wellbeing (Toku Fou Tiale, 2012; Tōfā Mamao, 2012). “The offence of violence is that it violates the boundary of relationships through disrespect, of which an outcome is physical and emotional harm” (Kāiga Māopoopo, 2012).

Transformation and restoration

Education was identified as a critical process for transforming violent behaviour and restoring wellbeing to families. The task of education, however, should be the responsibility of both practitioners and their communities. One element of the educative process is to find appropriate alternatives to violence. These can be found within the cultural frameworks of the seven ethnic groups.

Background

The past two decades have seen significant increases in violence in Pacific families. Literature has identified that, while there is no one single cause that can be attributed to family violence, there are three contributive factors that are unique to the experiences of Pacific families living in New Zealand. These are social and economic inequalities; the impact of migration on families; and identity and culture. One of the underlying concerns of identity and culture is the urgent need to understand ethnic specific perceptions, beliefs and practices with regard to relationships between family members, and the impact of violence on kinship wellbeing. There is a significant paucity of information in this area.

Building ethnic specific capacity and capability

A key deliverable identified in the Programme of Action for Pacific Peoples 2008 and Beyond (POA) was the need to develop and strengthen workforce capability and capacity of practitioners and service providers based on effective practice approaches:

Improve the range and capacity of high-quality Pacific family violence prevention and intervention service providers, based on effective good practice models. (Objective 11)

In 2010, the Pacific Advisory Group (PAG) to the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families conducted *fono* in four regions throughout the country. The purpose of the *fono* was to seek the views of Pacific people and practitioners on how best to address family violence in their communities. In June of the same year, the culmination of these regional discussions was a national Champions of Change *fono* held in Auckland. At the Champions of Change *fono*, participants identified that “any serious approach to addressing violence in Pacific families would require a critical exploration of fundamental issues around

culture, its values, practices, traditional contexts, and its ability to encompass the dynamics of contemporary Western society”.² Two proposals that were strongly supported at this *fono* were:

- The community needs to take primary responsibility for leading the development of a programme of action to prevent and ultimately stop family violence.
- There is a need to explore how service provision could incorporate culture as the basis for constructing new and more robust programme approaches.³

In March 2011, Hon Tariana Turia, as Minister responsible for Whanau Ora, Family Violence and Disability Initiatives, secured government funding for the development and delivery of a family violence training programme, aimed at building the capacity and capability of Pacific family violence practitioners and providers. The new training programme would bring together cultural knowledge and evidence-based prevention and intervention delivery approaches designed to be appropriate and responsive to the diverse circumstances of victims, perpetrators and their families. The implementation of the training programme is the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), supported by the Pacific Advisory Group in an advisory and leadership capacity.

In the same year, the Ministry of Social Development commissioned three key pieces of work that would inform the development of the training programme: the development of seven ethnic specific conceptual frameworks, the development of a Pacific conceptual framework, and a literature review.

Method

The Pacific Advisory Group comprises Pacific family violence practitioners working across a range of disciplines and practices. PAG is supported by Ministry of Social Development personnel.

Between 2010 and 2011, a series of *fono* was held to seek comment from Pacific community people and practitioners on effective approaches to addressing family violence. The first of these were four regional *fono* throughout the country followed by the national Champions of Change *fono* in Auckland in 2010. In October 2011, at a Practitioners *fono*, practitioners from different regions met in their ethnic groups to discuss practice imperatives for inclusion in their conceptual frameworks. Discussions also included design and development of the ethnic specific frameworks. In November, a Pacific Conceptual Framework *fono* was held to consolidate the information gathered from previous *fono* and to inform the development of the conceptual frameworks. Seven ethnic specific Working Groups were convened to facilitate this task. The Working Groups comprised elders with knowledge of their cultural beliefs and practices, practitioners, clinicians, academics, and ministers of religion. Each Working Group was assigned a group leader and a writer. The group leaders and writers were selected for their facilitation skills, bilingual fluency, and writing skills. Following the *fono*, the writers were tasked with undertaking a literature search, and to write up the conceptual framework for their ethnic group. The writers were supported by their Working Groups, a nominated PAG member, the main writer, and MSD personnel. Individuals with relevant expertise and of the same ethnic group were approached to review the ethnic conceptual framework document. After the documents were revised, they were submitted to PAG for their comments and approval.

² Champions of Change – Pacific Advisory Group update of Summary of Findings and Key Themes.

³ Champions of Change – Pacific Advisory Group update of Summary of Findings and Key Themes.

Introduction

This document sets out a conceptual framework to address the high prevalence of violence in families who belong to one or more of seven ethnic Pacific communities in New Zealand. It was informed by and is aligned with seven ethnic specific conceptual frameworks, and a literature review.

The purpose of *Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu* is to provide a guide for policy writers working in the area of Pacific family violence. It achieves this by describing and explaining key cultural concepts and principles of the seven ethnic communities that promote family wellbeing, and the impact of violence on families.

The ethnic specific conceptual frameworks were informed by practitioners and community people in *fono* (meetings) throughout the country, and further developed by the ethnic specific Working Groups. These documents provide the foundations upon which each ethnic group can build their evidence bases for independent and collective strategic planning towards ending violence in Pacific families. They are not definitive or complete, nor do they seek to replace existing service provider and practitioner approaches.

Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu and the ethnic specific conceptual frameworks are living documents and will evolve with the revelations of new knowledge.

Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu and the ethnic specific conceptual frameworks will inform the development of a training programme for ethnic specific practitioners and service providers, and non-Pacific practitioners, who work with Pacific victims, perpetrators and their families affected by family violence.

A strengths-based approach

This project addresses family violence from a strengths-based approach. The strengths-based approach is premised on the belief that wellbeing, peace and harmony are natural states of being and are ideals to which all Pacific people aspire. This approach also contends that there are concepts, principles and values within the philosophical worldviews of each of the seven ethnic communities which define and govern all relationships between people and, in particular, members of 'close'⁴ and extended families. Correct interpretations and practices of these concepts ensure that wellbeing is maintained by or restored to the family collectives and individuals.

The strengths-based approach acknowledges that there are diverse pathways to ending family violence, and that these pathways are informed by the cultural values and beliefs of families and their communities of identity.

Languaging the relational framework

One of the challenges in working with English translations is the potential for English words and their definitions to have a levelling effect on the meanings of ethnic specific concepts and principles. The result is that the meaning of the ethnic specific concept is distorted and becomes lost to its indigenous origins. When this happens, a second loss is the non-secular/spiritual meaning, which is the heart and soul of ethnic specific worldviews. A language that has been secularised is no longer able to 'authentically' articulate the indigenous worldview of the community. The belief that there are commonalities or sameness of meanings of words and concepts across ethnic specific cultures mistakenly assumes that ethnic specific communities are a homogeneous group.

Nga Vaka o Kāiāga Tapu comprises seven constructs of interdependent strengths-based concepts and principles to address the complexities of violence within families. The term 'relational' best describes the encounters and engagements between the seven worldviews and the concepts that support these.

At a philosophical/conceptual level, the worldviews share the belief that:

- perceptions and experiences of lived environments are holistic, integrated, interdependent and interconnected

⁴ The term 'close' family is used instead of nuclear (family) to indicate that the context for family is genealogy.

- interconnected and interdependent relationships exist between people, and between people and their lived and ancestral homes, their divinities and god(s), their natural and cosmological environments, and their ancestors.
- families are places where culture is preserved, changed and even misrepresented:
 - Families are typically arranged in kinship collectives ranging from, for example, close families, to sub-branches and main branches. The totality of these arrangements constitutes the extended family.
 - Every member of the family has a role and associated responsibilities and obligations to fulfil as part of the maintenance of family wellbeing.
 - The degree of formality in relationships between family members varies across the ethnic groups. The most significant of these relationships is between brothers and sisters. In some ethnic groups, these *tapu* relationships are formalised through covenants.
 - Language is an important entry point to understanding worldviews.

At a practical level, these concepts, principles and values are lived out in diverse ways that are unique to each ethnic community.

Ethnic specific conceptual frameworks

The ethnic specific conceptual frameworks are:

- grounded in core values and beliefs that are relevant and appropriate to addressing violence in families who identify with one or more of the seven ethnic specific communities
- not a definitive or an authoritative document on any one cultural belief and practice, nor are they intended to replace existing service provider and practitioner approaches.

The desire of the Working Groups is that the frameworks assist ethnic specific practitioners and service providers, and mainstream organisations working with Pacific families, in:

- their work with victims, perpetrators and their families who have been affected by family violence
- grounding their experiences and knowledge in elements of an ethnic specific culture in ways that are relevant to the diverse experiences of the families.

Ongoing revision and evaluation of practice approaches ensure the frameworks are dynamic and relevant to the lived experiences of families and individuals.

The frameworks address issues of family violence; however, they can also be used across a broad spectrum of sectoral and inter-sectoral service provider programmes for individuals and families belonging to any one of these ethnic groups.

This section provides summaries of the seven ethnic specific conceptual frameworks. Reference must be made to the original documents for fuller descriptions and appropriate contexts for these.

Cook Islands Māori

Written by: Ani James,
Jean Mitaera (Leader/Writer)
and Apii Rongo-Raea

Turanga Māori

Transforming family violence – restoring wellbeing

Key findings

The Cook Islands Working Group asserts that all *Māori* have the right to expect *no'o'anga meitaki* and *ora'anga meitaki*, that is to live in good circumstances and have a good life. An individual or collective has the potential to live life to its fullest and therefore achieve *ora'anga mou*. A good and fulfilled life is acknowledged with the blessing “May you live on”, *kia ora ana*. *Ora'anga mou* assumes a balance of all aspects of life. When all physical needs are being met and upheld, spiritual and emotional wellness complements the *ora'anga* of the individual and the collective. The continuum of wellbeing has been developed and demonstrates the scope of wellbeing.

1. Violence is understood as a violation of the wellbeing of the victim(s) and the perpetrator(s). It disconnects both parties from the continuum of wellbeing and transgresses the *tapu* (divine sacredness) of both.
2. Cook Islands culture determines *papa'anga* (genealogy) as the overarching theoretical framework from which family violence should be addressed and *ora'anga meitaki* restored. The principles that inform practice are:
 - ‘*akamatūtū i tona turanga* – strengthen his/her position/standing
 - ‘*akamārāmā i tona au piri'anga* – make known his/her connections/relationships
 - ‘*akakite i nga akaue'anga* – inform him/her of his/her duties to others
 - *kia tā'anga'anga'ia kia rauka te ngakau aro'a* – the practice of *turanga*, *piri'anga* and *akaue'anga* enables *ngakau aro'a*. *Ngakau aro'a* complements *ora'anga meitaki*.

The *orama* (vision) of the framework is the optimum wellbeing of the *ngutuare*, *kopu tangata* and *oire tangata* within which *Māori* live. The continuum of wellbeing asserts that all *Māori* have the right to expect *no'o'anga meitaki* and *ora'anga meitaki*, that is to live in good circumstance and have a good life

Figure 2. The continuum of wellbeing



Ora'anga mou assumes a balance of all aspects of life. When all physical needs are being met and upheld, spiritual and emotional wellness complements the *ora'anga* of the individual and the collective.

Approach to violence

There are three critical processes that must be applied when approaching violence and when responding to a perpetrator of violence:

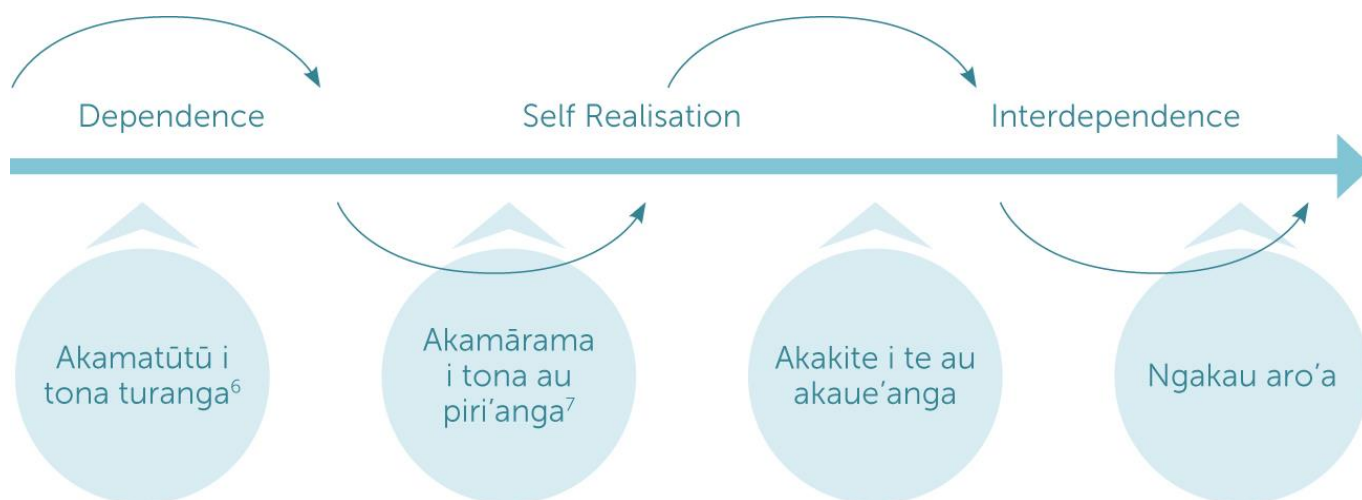
1. Dismiss the illusion that violence is acceptable, natural or culturally valid.

2. Eliminate the space and therefore opportunities for *ngutuare/kopu tangata* violence to be practised, by providing education for the empowerment of the individual and the collective. This means that *ngutuare/kopu tangata* will need to reclaim their respective *turanga*.
3. Provide and teach transformative practices based on *akono'anga Māori*. This will necessarily involve providing alternatives to violence.⁵

Transformation of behaviour

The transformation of behaviour moves from dependence to self-realisation and finally to interdependence. Dependence is the stage where violence is uncovered, self-realisation occurs when the *turanga* of the individual and collective are strengthened, and interdependence occurs when *piri'anga* are made known and reconnected (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: Transformation of behaviour^{6, 7}



Elements of the framework

1. Akono'anga Māori – includes the following to be utilised as intervention and restoration tools of practice:

Papa'anga (genealogy/kinship, which determines the individual place within the collective *ngutuare tangata*, *kopu tangata*, *tapere*, *vaka*):

- *Turanga* (the acknowledgement by self and others of one's position/standing and potential within the collective)
 - *Piri'anga* (the individual and collective belong to a reciprocal network. *Piri'anga* identifies and responds to collective and shared responsibilities and privileges both inside and outside of the *papa'anga*)
 - *Akaue'anga* (the acknowledgement and fulfilment of individual and collective duties)
 - *Ngakau aro'a* (the willingness and conviction of the heart; generosity to self and others).
2. No Teia Tuatau – asserts the importance of being relevant and realistic about the environment and context within which people live today. That culture today is expressed differently. Begin where the *ngutuare/kopu tangata* is at, and:
 - *komakoma*⁸ *marie*, let your conversation be slow (gradual)

⁵ This has been adapted from *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework* (2004).

⁶ Strengthen his/her/their standing, sense of self.

⁷ Make known and clear his/her/their connections or collective relationships.

- *kia maru to korua komakoma'anga*, let your conversations be calm (peaceful).
3. Ta 'Anga'anga'ia – transformation occurs when all of the above are put into practice. On their own they are simply cultural concepts isolated in space.

Tākinokino tangata – violence

Violence (*Tākinokino tangata*) is a violation of the wellbeing of the victim(s) and the perpetrator(s). It disconnects both parties from the continuum of wellbeing and transgresses the *tapu* (divine sacredness) of both.

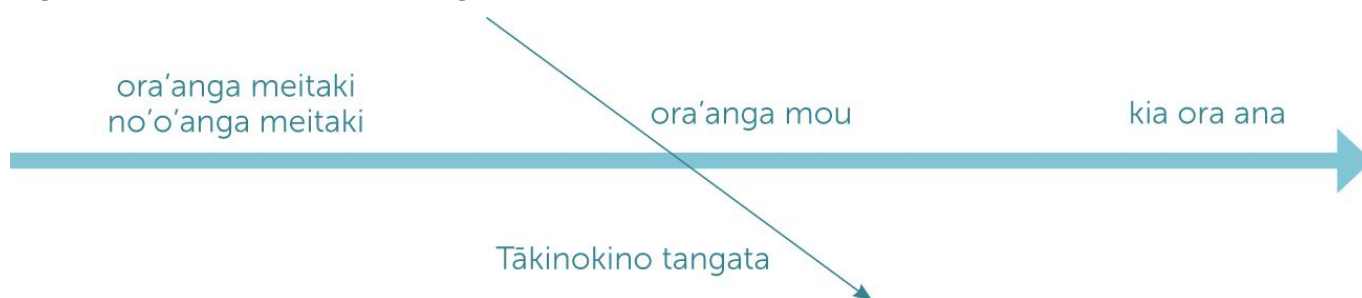
Violence can result in the victim(s) and/or perpetrator(s) going into a state of *maromaroa*. *Maromaroa* can be described as loneliness and isolation sometimes demonstrated by the victim withdrawing from aspects of her *ora'anga*, isolating herself from her *piri'anga* (relationships). Violence is neither acceptable nor cultural. Violence is normalised when *piri'anga* become silent. Continuous experience of and exposure to violence will result in *matapo o te ngakau* (blindness of the heart). This is to be so entrenched in violence that it becomes one's norm. The poem by Tere Tarapu speaks to this (see Appendix 1 in Turanga Māori, 2012). Violence is experienced by all sections of Cook Islands communities across Aotearoa New Zealand. It is not isolated to any particular socio-economic or *enua* group.

There are a number of terms that relate to violence, though they do not specifically translate as violence. They include:

<i>Tākinokino tangata</i>	to harm, ill-treat someone
<i>Tumatetenga</i>	misfortune, death
<i>Tā tangata</i>	physically beat, kill
<i>Taia</i>	to beat
<i>Motoro</i>	to enter a house to seduce or rape
<i>Takataka'i</i>	to stomp on, trample
<i>Tauma'a</i>	to curse

⁸ Informal speaking, quiet chat.

Figure 4. The violation of ora'anga mou



Violence was a feature of the *Māori* past. It was how one collective conquered and enslaved another and the means by which women and land were taken. It was used to enact revenge and punishment.

Those historical stories have informed the continued evolution of *akono'anga Māori* which takes away the validity of violence and confirms *papa'anga* as the pre-eminent framework to understand a person's or collective's relationship to another and the set of accompanying actions that uphold those relationships.

Practice imperatives

Akono'anga Māori is evolutionary and is always situated in the 'now'.⁹ Values may stay the same but the way in which those values and principles are practised evolves with and within each generation.

Akono'anga Māori is not prescriptive; this is particularly important given that there is no one Cook Islands *Māori* cultural perspective or practice. This offers the practitioner, victim(s) and perpetrator(s) the opportunity to be relevant, realistic and flexible given the circumstances at hand.

Papa'anga is the framework for relationships within which *turanga*, *piri'anga* and *akaue'anga* are defined and first practised.

- *Turanga* is strengthened when the individual and collective are empowered to claim their place in the *papa'anga* and with each step recognise the *turanga* of others. We start with *turanga* because it is when the victim/perpetrator understands who they are, how they come to be and who they can be.
- A victim/perpetrator may not instantly want to be exposed to the fullness of their *piri'anga*. This provides the practitioner with space to work alongside the victim/perpetrator, build self-realisation and make small connections (whether they are kin or non-kin). Learning to belong and trust may take longer for some.
 - Once *turanga* and *piri'anga* have been re-established and brought to life, then observance of *akaue'anga* can eventually be introduced.
 - *Ngakau aro'a* is the emotional and spiritual expression of being *Māori*, generosity to the self and to others. It is informed by *akono'anga Māori* and *papa'anga*. In many instances the *ngakau aro'a* towards the victim/perpetrator from the practitioner may be their first experience, and the platform from which the practitioner can unpack the *matapo o te ngakau* (blindness of the heart), and introduce cultural elements as tools for restoration and transformation. *Ngakau aro'a* given and received is to experience wellbeing. This framework consciously uses the term 'restoration' to highlight the importance of restoring *turanga* in order to transform the individual and collective out of violence.

⁹ Otherwise it is *peu tupuna* – the ways of our ancestors, which is not the same as culture.

- *Ta 'anga'anga'ia* is the acknowledgement that concepts and knowledge in themselves cannot effect transformation and restoration. The victim/perpetrator and family must take the shared responsibility to action their knowledge. Culture is lived.

No Teia Tuatau reminds practitioners to be realistic and relevant to the environment and context that the victim/perpetrator lives in; that is the starting point. For instance, do not assume that a prayer is required. The practitioner should explore the victim's/perpetrator's level of knowledge and practice. Begin where the *ngutuare/kopu tangata* is at.

Ta 'Anga'anga'ia – the victim/perpetrator and their family may need some guidance and support as to how to practise their *turanga* and *piri'anga*.

Restoration and transformation

The inability to translate culture and cultural practices into the New Zealand environment has escalated violence as the preferred response to alienation and the diminishment of *turanga*, which is in itself disempowering and feeds the opportunity for violence to be perpetuated.

It is unrealistic to consider that Cook Islands *Māori* practitioners will make the difference for Cook Islands victims/perpetrators of violence – there are far too few who work in this area. However, there is a desperate need for existing practitioners to contextualise their practice within a cultural model and to be part of the educative process for *ngutuare/kopu tangata* and *oire tangata*.

The Cook Islands Working Group hopes that by making this framework accessible, practitioners from other ethnic groups might be better informed and gain new tools and understanding when working with Cook Islands *Māori* victims/perpetrators of family violence.

Conclusion

This paper notes the issue of diversity amongst Cook Islanders and it provides some insight into shared concepts that are understood by and inherent to all *Māori*. The Cook Islands Working Group firmly believes that *akono'anga Māori* is critical to the elimination of violence within Cook Islands *ngutuare*, *kopu tangata* and *oire tangata*. And like culture, this framework will need to be reviewed for its ongoing relevance, realism and flexibility given the evolutionary nature of our *ngutuare* and *kopu tangata*.

Akono'anga Māori culture is the expression of knowledge, beliefs, customs, morals, arts and personality. It is both the substance and a set of processes whose primary purpose is to ensure wellbeing, facilitate the practice of respectful relationships and, enable the individual and collective to pursue their aspirations.

All *Māori* have *piri'anga* which are supported through the observation of individual and collective duties called *akaue'anga*. *Akaue'anga* are reciprocal – one is both a 'giver' of duties and a 'receiver' of duties. Maintaining relationships requires shared labour, resources and participation from all members of the collective. It requires members to understand that they have a duty to each other. *Papa'anga* is the framework for relationships.

Wellbeing is achieved through self-care and the maintenance of familial and community relationships. All members of the *kopu tangata* have an inherent responsibility for self-care according to their *turanga*.¹⁰ *Ngakau aro'a* is its complement.

Violence (*Tākinokino tangata*) is a violation of the wellbeing of the victim(s) and the perpetrator(s). It disconnects both parties from the continuum of wellbeing and transgresses the *tapu* (divine sacredness) of both.

Education can be the transformative process fundamental to changing violence within the *ngutuare/kopu tangata* and *oire tangata*. The Cook Islands Working Group notes that while there is an educative process inherent to the practitioner-victim/perpetrator relationship, education must be accepted as the responsibility of the whole community. Part of the educative process will be to seek suitable alternatives to violence; these can be found within *akono'anga* Māori.

¹⁰ A child has limited capability to practice self-care, in which case a child's care is the responsibility of those who have care duties for him/her. The same applies to other vulnerable members of the *kopu tangata* e.g. elders, widows, disabled etc.

Fiji

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Vuvale doka sautu

A Fijian Cultural Framework for violence in Fijian families

Introduction

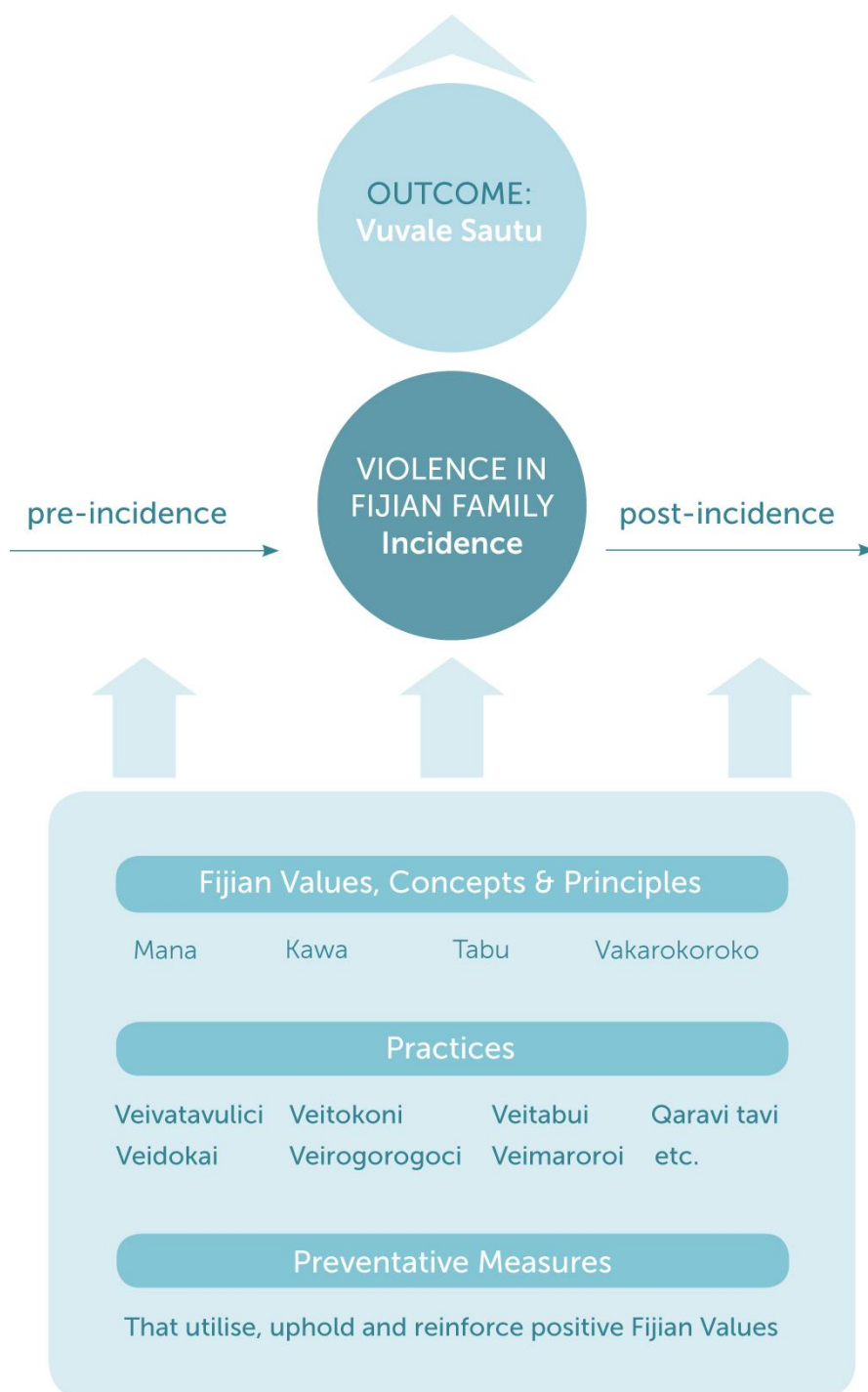
The Fijian term **Sautu** denotes the existence and maintenance of a strong and vibrant Fijian *Vuvale* (family). It represents the pinnacle and optimal state where the family is operating at its best and have secured a stable, harmonious and mutually sustaining status. It is a situation where relationships are thriving because the key Fijian values and concepts of *veivakarokoroko*, *veidokai*, *veirogorogoci*, *veivakatafulici*, *veinanumi*, *veikauwaitaki* and *veilomani* are observed and promoted. It is a situation akin to reaching the final stage in the building of a Fijian house, when the *doka ni vale* is in place as the top-most and crowning glory of the house. It is the result of painstaking co-operation, where different family members have played their part in building different parts following set rituals, protocols and processes. The *I Doka ni Vale* is also the desired picture the family wishes to portray outwards about its wellbeing.

Na i valavala kaukauwa ni veivakasaurarataki (violence) represents a fractioning in the family as it shatters and tears down all that holds the family together. In pre-Christian Fijian culture, violence was sustained by the practice of exacting revenge on perpetrators. Nowadays much more enlightened approaches can be found to better understand violence in Fijian families and how to address it. These approaches can incorporate positive elements of Fijian culture that have served Fijian families well for generations.

Violence in Fijian families in New Zealand remains a largely untalked-about activity. Its causes are multidimensional and the impacts on victims and perpetrators have direct effects on the families themselves. That is why discussions on how to address violence in Fijian families have to involve and incorporate Fijian concepts, values and principles that operate within, and govern, family relationships and dynamics.

Figure 5.

Vuvale Doka Sautu: a Fijian Cultural Framework for violence in Fijian families



Fijian cultural concepts and values

This section outlines and briefly discusses a number of key Fijian cultural values and concepts relating to the *vuva* (family), using the metaphor of a house and its construction.

Fijian worldview

Understanding Fijian culture, and therefore Fijian families, requires an understanding of the Fijian worldview. This worldview is shaped by the traditional Fijian social structures, where roles are clearly prescribed according to a family's membership of each level of the traditional hierarchy. Chiefs occupy the top echelon, followed downwards by others based on their roles in the community. In turn, the traditional roles define the nature of relationships among and between the different levels. Order is maintained and promoted when members know their place in the social hierarchy and work hard not to transgress it. Stiff sanctions follow the wilful breaking of protocols and rituals that govern how members behave with each other. In pre-Christian times, penalties could result in extreme violence.

Sautu (family wellbeing)

Like others, Fijian families aspire to achieve a certain level of harmony, prosperity and stability – a situation where relationships are mutually reinforcing and respected, and order is maintained through the observance and promotion of protocols and rituals. *Sautu* denotes such a state of being. *Sau* – reflects being imbued with *mana* arising from one's position or performance of role. *Tu* – is to rise following the successful discharge of one's duty. Together, *sautu* represents an outcome of positive achievement for a family. It is akin to the top-most part of a house, *doka ni vale*, serving as the crowning glory in the building process. In a village setting, *sautu* is achieved when members adhere to their roles as defined according to their positions in the traditional social hierarchy.

Sautu is therefore about family wellbeing that is self-sustaining and is equipped to deal with issues that are designed to fracture its core. It is about good health, as epitomised in the Fijian greeting *Bula Vinaka* (Good Health). *Sautu* is what Fijian families aspire to and it should necessarily be the desired outcome in dealing with issues of violence in Fijian families.

Kawa

Fijians place great importance on the family lineage and history of which they are a part and which they represent. Having a good *kawa* speaks volumes about who your ancestors are. It bestows on you an obligation and a duty to uphold their legacy in terms of achievement, behaviour and ongoing interactions. To be labelled as *kawa ca* is a grave insult to you and a slur on your ancestors and your descendants that can often result in retribution. For families, striving to achieve their best and displaying the highest form of good behaviour reflect good breeding and *kawa*. The concept of *kawa* places boundaries around personal behaviour and family interactions, as what you do reflects on your family's status.

Mana

The concept of *mana* implies having supernatural powers arising from one's position at birth or connection to the spiritual world. Tuwere (2002) suggests that, in essence, *mana* has to do "with life and the power of life that is provided by the gods". In turn, gods relate to a place that is treated as *tabu* (sacred). In traditional Fijian presentations, a shout of "*mana e dina*" at the conclusion signifies an appeal for a miracle from the gods. In modern Fijian society, the link to the supernatural is now merged with that of Christian teachings and rituals around blessings. "Amen" now takes the place of a shout of "*mana*" in the appeal to the Christian god.

For Fijian families, *mana* reflects a state of reverence and regard for each other that is sacred in terms of relationships, especially very close familial relationships that are often *tabu*. Great care is taken to ensure no offence that would transgress relationships and reduce *mana* within the family. It is said that *Mana* wanes when traditional structures, protocols or rituals are not observed or respected, and hence *mana* loses its power and mystical status.

Tabu

Tabu (verb = *Veitabui*) is well established in Fijian culture. It is closely associated with *mana* and designates forbidden access to, or limits the practice of, certain forms of activity or behaviour. This is to reflect the sacredness of the subject, relationship or event. For instance, a chief is said to be *tabu* owing to their having *mana*. Being sacred, a chief is often avoided, or approached with deference and respect. When applied in a family, *tabu* is often observed between brothers and sister, where contact between the two is restricted.

In practice, *Veitabui*, establishes boundaries that regulate behaviour, guarding against it becoming abusive or violent. It must, however, be noted that *tabu* can also apply in a family context by restricting disclosures of certain acts within the family. The observance of *tabu* in this context is done out of fear that a full disclosure of the deed will drag the family reputation down.

Vakarokoroko

The term *vakarokoroko* (respect) is critical for the harmonious existence of a Fijian family and, by extension, a village. It marks adherence to forms of behaviour where position in a traditional hierarchy is acknowledged in order to preserve kin relationships. The closer the relationship, like that between brother and sister, the stricter the observance of the practice. This behaviour is often expressed by acts of courteousness and even avoidance among close family members or by referring to each other in the third person. It is a way of guarding against possible transgression and is highly valued and aspired to. A person who regularly displays respect will be regarded as being *vakaturaga* (of chiefly comportment). *Veidokai* (respect or honour) has the same meaning as *vakarokoroko* and they are often applied interchangeably.

Cultural practices

The following terms could be regarded as cultural practices that operationalise the cultural concepts and values discussed above.

Family members have each other for support in good and bad times because of intimate and familial ties. *Veitokoni* denotes mutual support (partnership) built around a dependent relationship. Fijians are communitarian in outlook and practice. Individualism within the family can work against the common good and is often frowned upon. In a Fijian house, *Na i Sa* demonstrates this paired up relationship between family members. If this partnership fails the roof and *Doka* of the house will collapse. It is a reciprocal relationship among family members that in essence determines whether or not the family functions as a unit and remains upstanding. Parents in particular are expected to actively practise *veitokoni* in a Fijian family.

Veirogorogoci

In order for family members to work co-operatively there has to be *Veirogorogoci* (short form is, *veirogoci*) a practice of ongoing communication with, sharing with, and listening to each other. Although mediated by the observance of *tabu* as a mark of respect among close family members, *veirogorogoci* reflects obedience to, and observance of the family order, ritual and processes. It ensures ongoing engagement and interaction among family members, thereby sustaining relationships. Again it is parents who are expected to actively practise *veirogoci* via ongoing communication and sharing.

Veivakaliuci

Regarding others as higher in status than oneself is part of Fijians showing respect and deference, especially to those who are higher up the social hierarchy. It is good manners not to put oneself first but allow others to come before you. It is a form of submission to those in authority and a way of valuing links and relationships. *Veivakaliuci* is also displayed through *veiqaravi* (act of serving others rather than being served).

Veivakabekabei

The term *veivakabekabei* (praising) denotes the importance of ‘valuing and nurturing’ in Fijian society. It is a way of maintaining relationships via positive reinforcement and generating unity. It is not about boasting or grandstanding, as this runs counter to Fijian values of *vakarokoroko* and *veidokai* – being self-effacing and showing deference.

Family violence continuum

The Fijian perspective on violence takes place on a continuum ranging from light discipline to extreme violence. Fijian culture has a way of recognising this continuum and can be applied to protect against violence as defined in New Zealand law. Disciplining young family members is part of upholding family order and instilling a sense of responsibility or *bibi ni tavi*, and is part of *veivakatavulici* (teaching), but has to be done with a non-physical approach in order to avoid inflicting injury.

The perspective is not one that condones violence in the family as it runs counter to the values upon which families are built and sustained. In fact violence represents a fracturing and breakdown of family values and unity, thus making it difficult to achieve all that the family aspires to – *Sautu*: a strong and vibrant *Vuvale*.

The existence of legal definitions and sanctions for violence in New Zealand is a given. Fijian family values have to be aligned with that reality and in a way that still upholds and reinforces both. A family that practises *veirogorogoci*, *veidokadokai*, *veilomani* and *veivakaliuci* is able to comply with the law by being respectful, supportive, loving and accepting of authority.

Fijian culture has both positives and negatives. Throughout history it has adapted to the times and situations in which it has found itself. As we move into the future, it is important that we retain our culture as it defines our identity as a people. Fijians want to progress into the future with the positives of their culture.

Fijian definition of violence

The following descriptions attempt to capture the term ‘violence’ in Fijian.

Na i tovo kaukauwa ni veivakasaaurarataki se veivakatotogani – the use of force that is applied against the will or to scare and undermine (violence)

Na i tovo kaukauwa ni veivakasaaurarataki ena loma ni vuvale – the use of force that is applied against the will, to scare and undermine family members (violence in the family).

Fijian families in New Zealand

Like other migrant groups, Fijian families face ongoing challenges to their culture in New Zealand. With advances in modern living and technology and a progressive and open learning environment, aspects of Fijian culture will slowly be eroded unless there is ongoing interaction with the home country or programmes put in place to promote Fijian culture. In this regard, the setting up of Fijian language and culture nests is welcome and needs to be encouraged.

It is the family that must play the pivotal role in instilling cultural values in, and promoting relevant and applicable practices to, its members, especially young ones. Although opportunities for those values and concepts to be practised and applied may diminish in New Zealand, there are still benefits in teaching families about them. There is power and wisdom in just knowing, as it may well be the case that although practices have changed in New Zealand, the values underpinning them remain the same and therefore credible and relevant.

Fijian family values will also be subject to change and modifications as a result of being in a new country. The key will be to identify and promote positive aspects of those values in dealing with issues such as family violence. For instance, while the observance of *tabu* between brothers and sisters may diminish, open sharing among family members via the observance of *veidokadokai* (respect) and *veirogorogoci* (listening to each other) can contribute to harmonious and mutually sustaining family relationships. Young suicide victims have often not been helped when they were unable to share their troubles with other family members.

Economic, political and legal realities in New Zealand will have ongoing impacts on how Fijian values are expressed. The pressure on male family members to perform their role as providers may not always be met in economic downturns, thus impacting on their status among family members. But the practice of *veitokoni* and *veidokai* can ensure that family support and solidarity are maintained and upheld. Unrealistic expectation among family members can also be managed by ensuring there is *veirogorogoci* among members and sharing of burdens.

Na gaunisala me vakamuri: measures to address violence in Fijian families

While preventative measures must be targeted at all the phases in the continuum, the emphasis must be on preventing violence in families occurring in the first place. These measures need to be designed and implemented utilising the Fijian values, concepts and practices identified in this document. In designing programmes to address violence in Fijian families, the following key elements need to be considered:

Outcome sought	Vuvale Sautu (Strong & Vibrant Family).
Impact of violence	Threatens wellbeing of Vuvale (Family Well being) because it is contrary to the values, principles and practices that are at the core of vuvale.
Value-based approach	Apply Fijian values and concepts in diagnosing and understanding cause and effect links to violence. Need to consider positives and negatives in how values are operating in practice.
Continuum outlook	Target measures based on Fijian values and concepts at the different phases of violence, with emphasis on pre-incidence.
Family and Community	Apply Fijian cultural concepts and practices to understand, shape and influence the external environment in which violence occurs. Using the family entails valuing and nurturing all its members and the principles and practices by which they live. Family has to take ownership of violence in the family for a family approach to be effective. Understand linkages of family to wider community (church, clubs etc.) as forms of support.

Conclusion

Na i valavala kaukauwa ni veivakasaaurarataki (violence) represents a fractioning in the Fijian family, as it shatters and tears down all that holds the family together. Violence threatens family stability and renders it difficult to achieve a status of *sautu* (strong and vibrant family). It runs counter to all that a Fijian family is based on and aspires to.

Initiatives to address violence in Fijian families need to have regard to key concepts and values relating to Fijian cultures. These need to be incorporated into and inform preventative measures that are designed at the programme level.

The development of a Fijian Cultural Framework, as set out in this document, acknowledges the importance of Fijian culture in dealing with violence in families. The framework identifies a number of key cultural values and concepts that shape Fijian thinking and behaviour and how these function within families. It also describes a number of Fijian cultural practices that operationalise the values and cultural concepts relating to family and violence. While the list may not be exhaustive, it would greatly benefit from ongoing discussion and dialogue with the Fijian community to ensure its relevance and applicability in the New Zealand setting.

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Koe fakatupuolamoui he tau magafaoa Niue

A Niuean Conceptual Framework towards addressing family violence

Key findings

1. Violence against family members is not acceptable or a part of *aga fakaNiue*. Family violence in Niuean families is a violation of the wellbeing of the individual, family and wider community.
2. *Magafaoa* (family) is where concepts and conduct that promote wellbeing are learned. Language is an important part of preserving wellbeing in families.
3. *Fakatupuolamoui* contains six elements which inter-relate and form the basis for transformative practice when addressing family violence for Niuean families. The principles that inform practice are:
 - *Vahā loto mahani mitaki*: conduct and behaviour that is good; appropriate; proper
 - *Agaaga fakatupuolamoui*: through the proper conduct of one, the spirit of the other is encouraged to grow and flourish developing trust
 - *Kau fakalataha*: unity and cooperation
 - *Vagahau Niue*: language
 - *Fakatapu*: to make sacred and spiritual; forbidden
 - Institutions of influence – *magafaoa*, *maaga* and *Fale Tapu*

Transformational practices need to consider these elements as being interconnected in addressing family violence within Niuean families.

A holistic worldview

Aga fakamotu and *aga fakaNiue* encompass and comprise Niuean values and beliefs, customs, practices, language, heritage and songs.¹¹ They describe the essence of what it is to be Niuean.

Niuean people view the world as being holistic and integrated. *Aga fakamotu*, *aga fakaNiue* and *vagahau Niue* (language) express the world of Niuean people as being inter-related. The human dimensions of a person's *moui* (life), for example, cannot be viewed as isolated or separate elements. The physical body, emotions, spirit and mind of a person are interconnected and interdependent. Like the parts of a body, individuals are also inextricably connected to their families.

¹¹ Group discussions June 2010, and Focus Group Conference, Waipuna, November 2011.

Key concepts of wellbeing

Vahā loto mahani mitaki

Ko e vahā loto mahani mitaki koe fakaveaga he mafola ko e uho he matutakiaga he taha ke he taha (fakafetuiaga).

Good relationships are the foundation of peace, which is precious in connecting one another.

Vahā loto mahani mitaki is a key concept that connects and maintains good relationships between people. It is the foundation for:

- *Fakaveaga he mafola*, which is adherence to or holding on to peace;
- *Uho he matutakiaga*, which is the preciousness of connecting to one another.

Fakafetuiaga goes to the heart of *vahā loto mitaki*, *fakaveaga he mafola* and *uho he matutakiaga* between people. It refers to the strength of bonds that are created and maintained between people because of their connection to one another. *Fakafetuiaga* becomes a source of collective *fakamalolo* (to strengthen the spirit) of the individual when the individual needs support.

These elements are central to maintaining peaceful relations between family members based on appropriate and proper conduct and behaviour towards each other.

Values that are strongly connected to *Vahā loto mahani mitaki* include:

<i>fakaalofa</i>	love, pity, sympathy, empathy, gifting
<i>ole fakamagalo</i>	compassion, cleansing of ill feelings and ill behavior, plea for forgiveness
<i>felagomatai fekapitigaaki fakafeheleaki</i>	helping one another, having friendly relations with one another, sharing
<i>fakalilifu</i>	honouring or glorifying another
<i>leveki/puipuiaga</i>	care of, protecting and sheltering one another
<i>fakafetuiaga</i>	fellowship/relationship

Agaaga fakatupuolamoui

Agaaga ke fakatupuolamoui e mahani mitaki.

The spirit is encouraged to flourish (because of) good, proper conduct of the other.

It is in the display of one's conduct, nature, habit or custom that one's spirit or soul is made visible and trust is developed.

Agaaga (spirit) is crucial in making connections to each other in order to *tupuolamoui* (grow and thrive). It is the spirit of maintaining peaceful relationships through:

<i>agaaga fakalilifu</i>	placing the other's spirit higher than one's own in honour or glory
<i>agaaga foaki</i>	spirit of treating others with honesty
<i>agaaga fakamooli</i>	spirit of giving
<i>agaaga fakafeleheaki</i>	spirit of sharing
<i>agaaga fekapitigaaki</i>	spirit of friendly relations between each other
<i>fakatapu</i>	sacredness of self and others

Kau fakalataha: unity and co-operation

Kau fakalataha is a key concept in Niuean values and beliefs. It encourages conduct that brings about unity, co-operation and peaceful relationships between family members. The "exhortation"¹² to be *kau fakalataha* is to encourage the family to be unified. This creates *malolo* (strength) and *fakamalolo* (to strengthen one another). *Kau fakalataha* includes *loto fakamooli* (heart and mind of genuine honesty) *fakamooli he tau kupu vagahau* (genuine honesty of words) and *fakamooli e gahua* (genuine honesty of action to carry out what was said).

To act in *kau fakalataha* is to maintain and *fakamalolo* the *vahā lotu mahani mitaki* (space between the heart, seat of emotions or the mind of good conduct between people) and *agaaga ke fakatupuolamoui e mahani mitaki* (vigorous and thriving growth of the spirit because of the proper conduct of the other). *Kau fakalataha* is unity and co-operation that contributes to wellbeing in the *magafaoa*.

The concept of *kau fakalataha* is seen in the daily practices of *magafaoa* and *maaga* such as '*kai fakalataha*' (eating together), *liogi fakalataha* (prayers together before sleeping), *tutala or fono fakalataha* (talking with each other). Sunday lunches were remembered as a 'holy' day for the spirit and body of the family. The custom of Sunday lunch brought everyone together to share a meal. In the spirit of *kau fakalataha*, *momoi* (sharing of food) was extended to the neighbours.

Vagahau Niue: Niuean language

The ability to speak and understand Niuean is crucial to understanding the values and beliefs of Niuean people. It is core to the identity of being a Niuean. The key concepts that are raised have a depth of meaning in the words and feelings of the values and beliefs of Niuean people. Shared meaning can only be understood where there is understanding of the language.

Fakatapu: sacredness

Prior to Christianity, *fakatapu* of people tended to inhibit violent behaviour. *Fakatapu* recognises that the sacredness of the other is also sacredness of self. The concept of *agaaga* (spirit) permeates the cultural values and beliefs of Niuean people. An example is the meaning of *fakalilifu*, which is the honouring of the other by placing the other before self. This term is commonly translated in English as 'respect' but it has a deeper meaning that is both spiritual and connected to *fakatapu*.

Another value that contributes to achieving wellbeing is *manamanatuaga mitaki* (reasoned use) of: *fakalilifu* (respect), *loto fakaalofa* (sympathy), *loto fakatokolalo* (humility), *loto matala* (common sense), *feofanaki* (caring), *makaka* (ability), *malolo* (strength) and *fakatautonu/taui* (reciprocity).¹³

¹² Group discussion notes Pacific Champion Fono June 2010, October 2011, November 2011.

¹³ Percival et al, 2010.

Violence and violations in Niuean families

Tau mahani 'ita' describes the forms of violence that violates the wellbeing of Niuean families. In the *aga fakaNiue* there is no specific Niuean word for violence against family members. Family violence is an aberration to the wellbeing and health of Niuean families.

Terms for violence

The following terms include forms of violence including against children:

<i>akonaki</i>	verbal and physical abuse ¹⁴
<i>amuamu</i>	verbal taunts
<i>eke fakaelea</i>	put down of a person
<i>fahi</i>	to whip or beat
<i>keli</i>	to beat a person to death
<i>vale/mahani</i> <i>vale/aga vale</i>	violent behavior stemming from <i>ita</i> (anger)

<i>fakatagi e tau mata</i> <i>mo e agaaga</i>	pain, grief, sorrow
<i>fakama</i>	cause to be shamed
<i>fakamamahi e loto</i>	hurt feelings of another or to another

¹⁴ *Akonaki*: dictionary meaning are: to reprove, rebuke, chastise, advise. Fono participants have described situations where there are different levels of *akonaki* from less to extreme severity in verbal and physical forms. Refer below for further explanation.

Practice imperatives

The meanings behind the Niuean concepts, values and beliefs in this report are intended to protect, dignify and preserve what is unique to *magafaoa Niue*. We live in changing times and constantly feel the impact of global interests. These have a profound influence on how we choose to respond to new ideas and new environments through our cultural practices. It is crucial that the deeper meanings of our values and beliefs are not lost in the present or to the future. What is important is that, however Niuean people choose to practise their culture, these practices remain faithful to the underlying meanings of their *faka Niue*, their values and beliefs.

Education is important in the work of prevention of, intervention in and ending family violence. This is the responsibility not only of Niuean practitioners but of all *magafaoa Niue* who make up our communities.

In addressing family violence, Niuean practitioners and non-Niuean providers working with *magafaoa Niue* must:

- approach with *vahā loto mahani mitaki* (the intention to fill the space between each other with good conduct). This will provide the basis for creating spaces of peace during *fakaveaga he mafola* (healing and restoration of relationships). The transformative processes for changing behaviour and restoration of wellbeing are realised in *uho he matutakiaga*, where *vahā loto mahani mitaki* is extended to all members of the *magafaoa Niue*
- be seen to act fairly towards victims, perpetrators and their *magafaoa*, and *magafaoa laulahi*. The Niuean practitioner must be able to move fluidly between ‘insider-outsider’ and ‘outsider-insider’ roles as circumstances demand. The Niuean practitioner is pivotal in facilitating and encouraging the growth of good conduct between people in order to achieve *fakatu puolamoui*
- be knowledgeable in the different dynamics and structures of the *Fale Tapu*, *maaga*, *magafaoa*, and *magafaoa laulahi* to work in a *kau fakalataha* way. This may mean the appropriate inclusion of people of influence such as the *akoako/faifeau* (minister), *maaga takitaki* (village leader), *matua tupuna* (grandparents or respected elder person), *magafaoa takitaki* (family leader), and other professionals
- be fluent in *vagahau Niue* – Niuean language. The fundamentals of Niuean concepts, values and beliefs are cultural constructs that can be fully understood through *vagahau Niue*. It is imperative for those who are working with *magafaoa Niue* to show respect to *magafaoa* by speaking *vagahau Niue*
- be able to communicate effectively with Niuean-born people as well as Niuean people born and raised in New Zealand. This is especially the case for young people.

Family as a place of influence

Niue’s social institutions of *magafaoa* (family), *magafaoa laulahi* (extended family) and *maaga* (village)¹⁵ are important because they provide context to the discussion of the key concepts of Niuean cultural values and beliefs. On a day-to-day practical level, the relationships and dynamics within and between these institutions are central to understanding how *aga fakamotu* is lived out. *Magafaoa* are places where beliefs and practices of *aga fakamotu* are first taught to family members, and then enacted in public.

It is in the home where parents must provide ‘guidelines for behaviour’ for their children, and that families need to adapt to changes in the New Zealand environment. It was clearly voiced that “if families don’t have rules, the family will break down” and that it was still the central role of the *matua taane* and *matua fifine* to be “like a court”, “*Ko e tau matafakatufono he kaina koe tau matua taane mo e tau matua fifine*”,¹⁶ meaning

¹⁵ Includes the village leaders, families and *akoako/faifeau* (minister).

¹⁶ Focus Group Conference, Waipuna, November 2011.

that the parents are the primary rule setters and arbitrators in the home. Understanding *aga fakaNiue* and the dynamics of its main institutions of influence is pivotal to effective transformative practices.

Contemporary influences on families

Niuean people recognise that migration to New Zealand requires an adaptation to different ways of thinking, and roles within the family. Mothers, for example, have to go to work to help supplement their family income.¹⁷ In New Zealand, the teaching and practice of values and beliefs within families are the responsibility of *tupuna*, *matua taane* and *matua fifine*. *Magafaoa laulahi*, *maaga* and *Fale Tapu* are the places within which *aga fakaNiue* is lived out.

There is a weakening of values and beliefs that promote strong relationships between Niuean people. This can in part be due to the environment and culture of New Zealand, which is seen as offering freedom of choice. Other lifestyles and beliefs are competing with values and practices of *aga fakaNiue*.

In Niue, the *maaga* or village serves as a meeting place. In New Zealand it is the church community that serves this purpose. All three places – *magafaoa*, *maaga* and *Fale Tapu* – are where Niuean families and individuals connect and reconnect with one another.

For many Niuean people, Christianity has been viewed as a positive colonial influence in unifying clans and villages once rife with internal conflict and war. The values and beliefs of Niuean people today are inextricably tied up with Christianity. The church has played a role in building spiritual strength to encourage peaceful relations with one another.

There is little information on young Niuean people, whether they migrated to New Zealand, were born and raised in New Zealand, or are of mixed ethnic genealogies. There needs to be dialogue between this population group and leaders of Niuean families and communities to provide an inclusive space for youth.

Conclusion

Tau mahani 'ita' describes the forms of violence that violate the wellbeing of Niuean individuals, *magafaoa* and *magafaoa laulahi*. Addressing family violence within Niuean families requires transformative practices based on the positive strengths embedded within Niuean cultural values and beliefs.

Family violence is an aberration to the wellbeing and health of Niuean families. Critical to addressing issues of family violence is the building and restoration of connections and relationships within and between people. *Fakatupuolamoui* encourages a focus on thriving, vibrant growth of relationships within and between families and community. It encourages a holistic approach towards practices that recognise the heart, spirit, emotions and mind of people affected by family violence.

¹⁷ Focus Group Conference, Waipuna, November 2011.

Sāmoa

Sāmoan Working Group: Rev Elama Maea, Judge Ida Malosi (co-facilitator), Siautu Alefaio-Tugia (co-facilitator), Paese William Pua, Rosalina Va'afusuaga, Papali'itele Tapuali'i Uitime, Tuu'u Mary Autagavaia, Norman Vaele, Tualamasala Kitiona Viliamu, Fa'amatuainu Tino Pereira, Yvonne Crichton-Hill, Peseta Betty Sio, Maiava Carmel Peteru (Writer)

O le tōfā mamao

A Sāmoan Conceptual Framework on addressing family violence

Key findings

1. The core principles and practices of *fa'aSāmoa* do not condone any form of violence in Sāmoan families.
2. *Tapu* and *sā* (forbidden and sacred beings) are violated by family violence. It is a disruption of the balance and harmony of relationships of wellbeing between family members.
3. *Āiga* is the site where *vā tapuia* is preserved and protected. Violations of *vā tapuia* towards family members create sites of terror, suffering and dysfunction.
4. *Fa'aSāmoa* is the overarching philosophical framework by which prevention and intervention approaches in family violence are addressed.

The principles that inform practice are:

- Tōfā mamao: in this document, is the critical wisdom and vision of *āiga* and communities
- Vā tapuia: in this document, is the sacred spaces of covenantal relationships between members of *āiga*
- Fa'asinomaga: reference points include *āiga*, *nu'u*, *fanua* and *matai*, titles from which individuals claim their belonging and identity
- Faiā: genealogical connections, and kinship ties by affinity
- Fa'aaloalo: behaviour and language that honour *vā tapuia* relationships
- Āiā tataua a le tagata Sāmoa: the rights of all Sāmoan people and especially women, children and the elderly who are to be respected according to *fa'aSāmoa*¹⁸

O le tapua'iga fa'aSāmoa: prayer and conscious contemplation for the success of an undertaking. *E matamata nonofo, e to'afilemu, e lē pisapisaō*: *Tapua'iga* is conducted while seated, in silence, and vigilant to outcomes.¹⁹ The saying '*ua patipati ta'oto le Fe'epō*' refers to the old man *Fe'epō* and his *tapua'iga* for his son *Leatiogie*'s success in the game of *taua'igalapalapa*. On hearing a great noise (*pisapisaō*), *Fe'epō* realises that his son has won, and claps his hands with joy – his *tapua'iga* has been successful (Tanielu, 2012).

¹⁸ Dr Lonise Tanielu, 2012.

¹⁹ Refer also: Tofaeono, 2000; Aiono-Le Tagaloa, 2003; Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave, 1997.

O le tōfā mamao: a vision of wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families

E āfua mai mauga manuia o nu'u. A lelei le pule, ua ola le nu'u.

The mountains are the sources of blessings and wellbeing. If the leadership is good, the people will live.

An important principle underpinning the dynamics of social and sacred encounters and interaction within *fa'aSāmoa* is the desire to maintain and protect peaceful relationships in '*āiga*, and between Sāmoan people. In the context of the Working Group discussions, *tōfā mamao* refers to the wisdom of '*āiga* and their social and religious communities as a critical pathway to fostering and nurturing wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families:

O le tōfā e fuafua mo le manuia o tagata uma ae le fa'apitoa i se to'atasi. O le tōfā e fa'avae i le alofa mo tagata lautele ina ia maua le sa'olotoga ... ina ia 'aia le mafatia a ia soifua fiafia. (Tofaeono Tanuvasa, 2009)

The purpose of *tōfā* is to ensure wellbeing is determined for all people and not for any one individual. *Tōfā* is love and compassion, and works to make possible freedom, and autonomy – so that all people are no longer burdened or overcome by suffering but live happy and fulfilling lives.

The word *tōfā* is wisdom achieved through the wise and judicious use of knowledge transmitted through family lore, and learnings from lifetimes of individual and collective experiences. *Tōfā* concerns thought that is reflective and contemplative, prudent, cautious, astute and of good judgement. It involves individuals, families, groups of people, and whole communities. *Mamao* refers to long and extended distances but, in this context, distance is the interwoven depth and breadth of vision and insights into the past, present and future. *Tōfā mamao* also implies the presence of *tōfā loloto*, meaning vision and wisdom that have depth.²⁰

Moe mānatunatu

Moe mānatunatu refers to “conscious alertness or awareness”,²¹ a “dream dialogue with ancestors and family gods”. They provide clarity to “decisions relating to family, community, and nation”. The belief is that '*moe mānatunatu* together with *anapogi*²² invites self-reflection and reassessment of the past²³ and the present to inform the future. This aspect of Sāmoan belief is drawn on as an important constituent of *tōfā mamao*.

Elements of the framework

The vision of the *Tōfā Mamao* Conceptual Framework is wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families. It asserts that all Sāmoan people have a right to happiness, protection and the opportunity to fulfil their potential in all aspects of their wellbeing.

1. **Fa'aSāmoa** – concepts to be used in prevention, intervention and restoration approaches to practice include:

Tōfā mamao: collective vision that informs approaches to achieving wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families and individuals

Vā tapuia: understanding that self and others, the environment and divinities occupy sacred spaces in relationships that honour each other's existence

²⁰ Dr Lonise Tanielu, *ibid*.

²¹ *ibid*.

²² Abstinence, meditation and prayer.

²³ Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi (Tui Atua), 2006a.

Gagana Sāmoa: has two linguistic registers: *gagana fa'aaloalo* (language of respect), and *gagana o aso uma* (colloquial, ordinary language). Both registers give expression to the non-secular and secular qualities in *vā tapuia* relationships, and inform respectful behaviour – *fa'aaloalo*

Faiā: establishes *vā tapuia* relationships within *gafa*, and is a place of strength from which to stand to fulfil duties and responsibilities within *'āiga*

Fa'asinomaga: places and people who provide contexts for an individual's belonging and identity, and orients the individual to fulfilling their potential within *'āiga* and community

Fa'aaloalo: respectful fulfilment of responsibilities to the *'āiga* and community based on knowledge of *faiā* and *fa'asinomaga*.

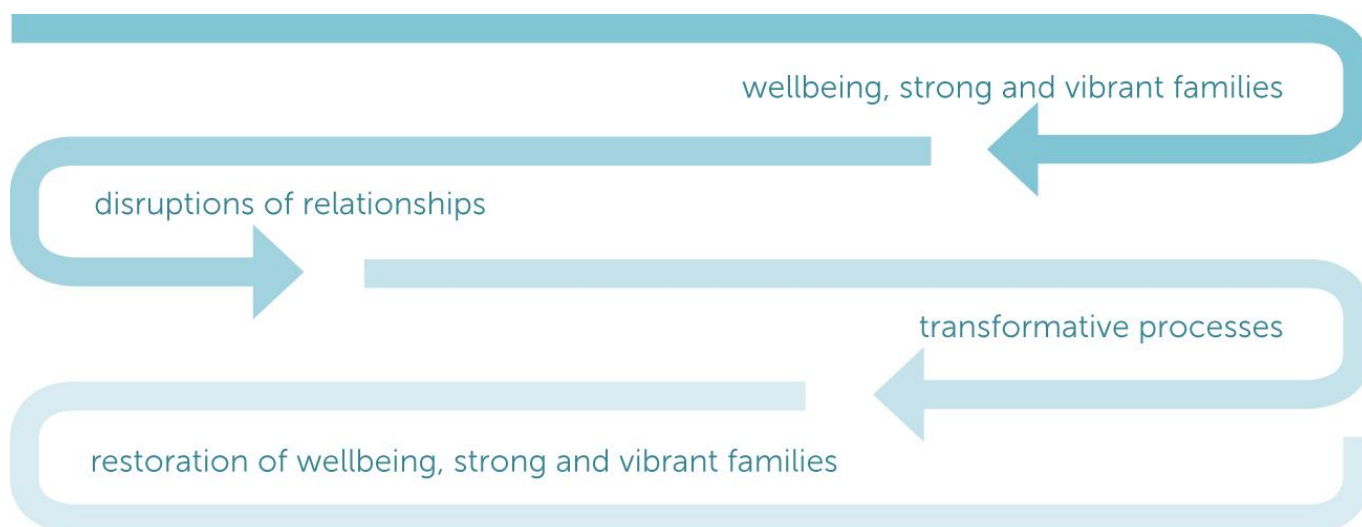
2. Contemporary realities need to be responded to in a manner that is relevant and meaningful to the diverse lived experiences of *'āiga*.
3. Transformation occurs when all of the above are practised as interdependent elements.

Approach to violence

Three critical processes for addressing violence and responding to perpetrators of violence are to:

- i. dispel the collective and individual illusions that violence and its violations are normal, acceptable and validated within *fa'aSāmoa*, and the “colonial attitudes and ideas that Sāmoan people are by nature predisposed to violence”²⁴
- ii. remove opportunities for violence and violations to be practised
- iii. teach transformative practices based on constituents and concepts of *fa'aSāmoa*.²⁵

Figure 6. Continuum of wellbeing



- The continuum begins from a position of wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families.
- Violence and violations create disruptions of relationships and of wellbeing within *'āiga*.
- Processes for healing and reconciliation facilitate and support the restoration of wellbeing to *'āiga*.

²⁴ Dr Lonise Tanielu, *ibid*.

²⁵ Adapted from *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework* (2004).

Movement of the different phases throughout the continuum occurs simultaneously depending on external and internal factors that inhibit or enable restoration of wellbeing.

Wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families is achieved through *tōfā mamao*, *vā tapuia*, *gagana Sāmoa*, *faiā*, *fa'asinomaga* and *fa'aaloalo*.

Family violence and violations of *vā tapuia*

There is nothing in the beliefs and philosophical principles of *fa'aSāmoa* that condones verbal, physical or emotional acts of violence against members of one's immediate and extended '*āiga*, or "that promotes excessive discipline through word or deed against children".²⁶ Violence causes psychological, emotional, spiritual and physical disruption, disorder and disharmony to the multiple dimensions of wellbeing within '*āiga*. Every member of the '*āiga* exists in relationships of *vā tapuia*.²⁷ Acts of violence are the dangerous violations of *vā tapuia*. The term *ua soli le vā tapuia* details the desecration of sacred relationships, the trampling of sacred space. Violence and the consequential violations of *vā tapuia* remove perpetrators, victims and their '*āiga* from the continuum of wellbeing.

Maintaining wellbeing

Relational *vā*: spaces of wellbeing

Va is the most significant concept to understanding the complexity of Sāmoan social interactions between people, church, and the environment. It underpins all epistemologies of participation, obligation, and reciprocation that guide our interactions and continue even as Sāmoans move abroad. (Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu cited in Lilomaiaava-Doktor, 2009)

Sāmoan people co-exist in *vā* relationships. The Sāmoan conceptual worldview and its tangible expressions are perceived and experienced as interdependent and relational. It is a "whole belief system which evolves around the concept of *vā*".²⁸ In common usage, *vā* refers to physical spaces between people, between objects, and between people and objects. In the context of human interaction and relationships, "*vā* is the space that relates",²⁹ and which is "conceptualised and lived out holistically",³⁰ and is the context by which meanings are given to things".³¹ These relationships are informed by principles that define and govern appropriate conduct and language between people, and "are the sites of all ethical actions".³²

Relational *vā* is conceived within '*āiga* and "within the spiritual, social, economic, and political contexts".³³ It touches on all aspects of Sāmoan people's wellbeing, whether they live in Sāmoa or overseas. Attending to *fa'alavelave*, for example,³⁴ is a commitment to actively *osi* '*āiga*. Participation requires a critical understanding of *vā feāloaloa'i* or social relationships, and *faiā*, which are connections by blood and marriage:

Performance of social responsibilities and obligations prescribed in va rest on the knowledge of social and genealogical connections that 'aiga members possess. (ibid)

Relational *vā* is based on *faiā* which are *vā tapuia* – the sacred spaces by which multiple responsibilities of members of '*āiga* are defined.

²⁶ Tui Atua, 2000.

²⁷ Covenantal relationships deemed to be sacred.

²⁸ Aiono-Le Tagaloa, *ibid*.

²⁹ Wendt in Lilomaiaava-Doktor, 2009.

³⁰ Lilomaiaava-Doktor, *ibid*.

³¹ Wendt in Lilomaiaava-Doktor, *ibid*.

³² Mila-Schaaf, 2009.

³³ Lilomaiaava-Doktor, *ibid*.

³⁴ Examples of *fa'alavelave* are funerals, weddings, church openings, significant birthdays.

Vā tapuia

Vā tapuia relationships are *tapu* and *sā*: forbidden and sacred to ordinary language and behaviour. *Tapu* and *sā* are factors that protect and maintain wellbeing and the dignity³⁵ of family members. Within *‘āiga*, *vā tapuia* relationships exist between “parents and children, the living and the dead, human beings and their environment – sea, sky, flora and fauna, between creator and created” (*ibid*), brothers and sisters, older and younger siblings, *matai* and family members, *‘āiga* and God(s), the elderly and the young.

Brother-sister covenant

Where harmony exists between the brother and the sister, there is peace in the family.³⁶

The most important of *vā tapuia* relationships is the covenant between the brother and his sister: *o le feagaiga i le vā a le tuagane ma lona tuafafine*:

E leai se feagaiga e sili atu lona taua i lo’o le feagaiga a le teine ma lona tuagane.³⁷

There is no covenant that is more binding and sacred than the one that exists between the sister and her brother.³⁸

The root word *feagai* in *feagaiga* “means to be opposite each other within the same space but not in opposition”,³⁹ describing relationships that are complementary, in balance and in harmony.

The covenant between brother and sister is a reciprocal obligation to each other’s wellbeing; however, the burden of responsibility to ensure that the needs of his sister are met is shouldered by the brother and his family. In the context of *‘āiga*, brothers and sisters also include close cousins and relatives. The *feagaiga* covenant lasts the lifetime of the brother and sister. The observance of appropriate behaviour and language between brother and sister extends to relationships between non-related males and females.⁴⁰

Gagana Sāmoa

A leai se gagana ua pō le nu’u

Without language the people are in darkness

O le gagana e feso’ota’i ai tagata uma, e fai ma ‘avefe’au e fa’ailoa ai manatu ma lagona, pe mafatia pe fa’aalofa. O le gagana e fa’atino ai le aganu’u, a leiloa le gagana ua leai se aganu’u. A leai se gagana ona pō lea o le nu’u ‘auā ua leai se iloa, leai se malamalama e fa’ailoa ai manatu ma lagona.⁴¹

Sāmoan language connects people, and is a vehicle for conveying thoughts and feelings, whether there is suffering or a given to love. Language gives form to *aganu’u*; without language, there is no *aganu’u*. Without language, the people are in darkness because awareness and understanding of thoughts and feelings cannot be made known or revealed.

O le gagana Sāmoa e faavae ai, e fusi ai, e ta’ui ai foi ma teumau ana aganu’u. (Sunia, 2000)

Sāmoan language is the foundation of *aganu’u*, enfolding, gathering, protecting and preserving its customs and practices.

³⁵ Tamasese et al, 1997.

³⁶ Tui Atua, 2005.

³⁷ Tuimaleali’ifano in Huffer and So’o, 2000.

³⁸ Prior to missionary contact, this covenant was referred to as *vā pa’ia* (Lafai-Sauoaga, 2000; Aumua Mata’itusi Simanu, 2002). The word *pa’ia* has connotations of sacredness, sacrosanct and holy.

³⁹ In Maiava and Percival, 2011.

⁴⁰ Tui Atua, 2007a.

⁴¹ In Tofaeono Tanuvasa, *ibid*. The word *pō* can mean dark or night, or is a polite term for physical blindness.

Gagana Sāmoa does not describe the world as polarised or opposing factions, but as a “complete whole”.⁴² *Gagana* articulates how we should co-exist with members of our ‘āiga, and our relationships with others; our lived places and ancestral environments; our divinities, and God(s).

Gagana informs appropriate behaviour and how we should conduct ourselves in a range of complex human encounters. It also informs our role in the Sāmoan world as relational individuals who belong in very significant and specific ways to genealogical continuums and places of identity, which is *fa’asinomaga*.

The decline of an indigenous language carries with it loss of history, conversations, and covenants intended as legacies for future generations. The displacement and loss of relational identities lead to the creation of different ways of belonging and being:

Indigenous languages are the lifeblood of indigenous cultures. It is what communicates and gives meaning, form and nuance to the social and cultural relationships between individuals, families and other social groupings. When a language dies, histories die with it and identities change. Here the most nuanced connection between the past and the present is therefore lost to the future. (Tui Atua, 2008)

Faiā

Faiā are devices that connect places,⁴³ or is an individual(s) who makes apparent the relationships between kin.

Paolo⁴⁴

So’u paolo ma so’u fa’amālumaluga
My shade and shelter, and my protection.

Gafa

Genealogies contain knowledge that is sacred to families, and is actively protected.⁴⁵ *Gafa* is the framework and map by which members of an extended family are able to locate themselves over generations. From the viewpoint of ‘āiga, *gafa* informs and legitimises entitlements based on *fa’asinomaga*. *Gafa* also orders governance structures within ‘āiga, including the accumulation and allocation of familial resources.

An important component of *gafa* is the narratives that explain and detail the subjective histories of the whole ‘āiga and its multiple branches. Narratives can include accounts of historical services rendered that may have led to the gifting or transference of lands and titles. They may also include accounts of violence and violations, and the repercussions of these on inter-generational relationships, embedded in the beliefs and behaviour of family members.

Fa’asinomaga

O le tagata ma lona fa’asinomaga

The person and their reference points of belonging.

Fa’asinomaga is knowledge that explicates who one is and how one belongs in the Sāmoan world. *Fa’asinomaga* comprises two words: *fa’asino* meaning to direct, to point out, or to indicate; and *maga*, which refers to multiple points or places. The key reference points of an individual’s *fa’asinomaga* are ‘āiga,

⁴² Aiono, *ibid.*

⁴³ Such as a bridge connecting villages separated by a river.

⁴⁴ The closest English equivalence of *paolo* is in-laws

⁴⁵ A current phenomenon is the inclusion of family genealogies, mainly by young people on social networking sites, as a way of extending social and familial connections. Blogging sites are popular places for discussing and debating genealogies and histories. An unsavoury aspect of the blog site is that, for some, anonymity encourages inconsiderate language as part of the flaunt and contestations.

*fanua, nu'u, gafa and suafa matai.*⁴⁶ *O le tagata ma lona fa'asinomaga* makes explicit that “every individual is entitled to a designation in the family, the village, and the nation”.⁴⁷

Fa'aaloalo⁴⁸

E soifua le atunu'u atoa i le fa'aaloalo. (Sunia, 2000)

Fa'aaloalo is a way of life for Sāmoan people.

*The concept of fa'aaloalo drives fa'aSāmoa. In everything one does, [one] show[s] respect. E le gata i le Va fealoa'i ma le isi tagata ao le va fealoa'i ma lona siosiomaga, fanua ma le tapuafanua o le eleele ma le sami.*⁴⁹

Fa'aaloalo in 'āiga is face-to-face engagement where conduct, ritual and language honour relationships through processes of participation and reciprocation. Individuals become one in the collective face of the “aiga, nu'u, and ancestors” (Tui Atua, 2002). Breaches of *vā tapuia* cause a ‘loss of face’:

Fa'aaloalo literally is face meeting face. Once there is a loss of face, there cannot be a meeting of faces and therefore the basis on which fa'aaloalo is premised disappears ... This stresses the mind ... Therefore loss of face cannot be passed over lightly. Loss of face is trauma which inflicts agony persistently and continuously. (ibid)

Practice imperatives⁵⁰

E tu'u matāmaga mea uma.

Everyone and everything have their rightful place.

E sui faiga ae tumau fa'avae recognises that, while practices of *fa'aSāmoa* will change and evolve over generations, the foundational intent and meanings of the values and principles remain constant. Misinterpretation and distortions of foundational meanings are likely to lead to practices that conflict with concepts intended to protect wellbeing.

The Working Group believes that education is part of the approach to preventing and eliminating family violence. In seeking alternatives to violence, the task must belong to practitioners and the whole community. A long-term approach for the Sāmoan practitioner is *ia toe sa'ili le fa'aleleiga o le 'āiga*, that is, finding ways of restoring wellbeing to 'āiga needs to be conscientiously re-examined and reconsidered within the context of *fa'aSāmoa*.

An effective practitioner has good knowledge and an understanding of:

A. their personal limitations, strengths and opportunities

B. constituents of *fa'aSāmoa*, and in particular *faiā* and *vā tapuia*:

- *tamāli'i'aga*: having integrity, and pride in and respect for one's being, and how one is with others; having attributes of someone who is well brought up
- how to communicate effectively with Sāmoan people raised in Sāmoa and people born in New Zealand
- the impact of colonisation on *fa'aSāmoa* and in particular on the brother-sister covenant

⁴⁶ Family, land, village, genealogy, and *matai* titles.

⁴⁷ Tui Atua, 2007b.

⁴⁸ Commonly glossed as respect.

⁴⁹ Dr Lonise Tanielu, *ibid*.

⁵⁰ Adapted from *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework* (2004).

- working with people whose behaviour includes *gugutu*, *'ai afu*, *ola fa'alagolago*⁵¹
- C.** working with one's own family in an insider-outsider role. The practitioner is able to move fluidly between the roles as circumstances demand:
- Insider-insider: needs strong support and supervision
 - Outsider-Insider: needs to engage well with insiders
 - journeying with people, recognising and acknowledging their insights into their illusions. The values associated with this commitment are *alofa*, *fa'amaoni* and *fa'autauta*⁵²
- D.** the New Zealand environment in terms of family violence, and in particular its institutions and systems its institutions and systems
- different arrangements and dynamics within Sāmoan families
 - the dynamics and structure of *nu'u*
 - the dynamics and structure of Sāmoan churches
 - facilitating family groups and working on a one-to-one basis
 - tracking families
 - delivering intervention that is forthright, direct, and confronting of behaviour and attitudes
 - ability to rekindle knowledge and to introduce new knowledge.

An effective practitioner has competency and accreditation in:

- *gagana Sāmoa*
- critical analysis of violence and violation.

This class of skills and Sāmoan strengths-based concepts is not exhaustive. They provide opportunities for practitioners, victim(s), perpetrators(s) and *'āiga* to work together in a manner that is appropriate and meaningful to their situation.

'Āiga: sites of preservation and change

The *'āiga* is the site where language and the values and beliefs of *fa'aSāmoa* are taught and preserved. Changes over the past 35 or more years in New Zealand's socio-economic environment⁵³ have contributed to "communities suffering from social fragmentation, cultural erosion, and increasing loss of identity",⁵⁴ and have had a significant effect on reshaping the family structure. In Sāmoa, similar patterns of fragmentation and privation were observed:

... increasing pockets of poverty and income inequality in Apia are visible in the spread of sub-standard housing and homeless persons, some of whom may be in need of mental health care. Increasing suburban dystopia is evident ... [with] growing frequency of reports about youth crime and domestic violence ... [which is] generally attributed to restlessness, fragmentation of kinship and decline in membership of Sāmoa's mainline or traditional church denominations.
(Thornton et al, 2010)

A likely impact of globalisation on family structures and dynamics included increases in de facto relationships, shifts towards sole parenting, increases in households comprising more than one family or

⁵¹ Behaviour that is predominantly manipulative by being boastful, opportunistic, dependent and reliant, co-dependent.

⁵² Compassion and love for people, trustworthy and loyal, prudent and practical.

⁵³ Spoonley, 2001; Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003.

⁵⁴ Taufe'ulungaki, 2005.

numbers of unrelated people,⁵⁵ overcrowded housing conditions, and a high prevalence of chronic conditions.⁵⁶ Changes also to “roles in families were significantly affected”. “Traditional attitudes towards the care of the elderly”, as well as the young, would come “under pressure as an effect of demographic and employment demands”. Mixed marriages also brought changes as new values and beliefs were introduced into the family (*ibid*).

Changes in the family structure are likely to affect ways in which family members relate to each other. Relational arrangements were in the past mainly understood in terms of status through birthright or title. In New Zealand, status is weighted towards the value of money, social standing, and education. Shifts in roles amongst family members do not necessarily disadvantage family wellbeing, if there is an implicit understanding that the underlying nature of the changed relationships continues to exist within the context of *fa’aSāmoa*. Problems arise where changes in individual and collective roles result in a loss of ‘respect’, and a confusion around relational boundaries⁵⁷ which protect and preserve the rights of individual family members to exercise their obligations and responsibilities in the ‘*āiga*. Rather than being sites that nurture strong and vibrant families, ‘*āiga* can become places of terror, suffering and dysfunction.

Conclusion

Family violence is a most profound violation of the Sāmoan being – of victims, perpetrators and their ‘*āiga*. *E fofō e le alamea le alamea* holds that healing and restoration lie within *fa’aSāmoa* and its people.

O le Tōfā Mamao is constructed with concepts that promote wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families. It recognises that violence also needs to be understood in terms of colonisation and contemporary influences. It is a beginning and will require further revision, discussion and research.

The discussions in this document are the re-awakening of text and the spoken word to the centrality of *tōfā mamao*, *gagana Sāmoa*, *faiā*, *vā tapuia*, *fa’aaloalo* and *fa’asinomaga* in the lives of Sāmoan people, not only as practice and ritual, but as a lived and visible spirituality.

⁵⁵ Statistics New Zealand, 1996.

⁵⁶ Statistics New Zealand, 2004.

⁵⁷ *Vā feāloaloa’i, vā tapuia* and *tuā’oi*.

Tokelau

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Kāiga māopoopo

A Tokelau Conceptual Framework to address family violence

Key findings

1. The Tokelau Working Group affirmed that all Tokelau dynamics of social and sacred interactions within *faka-Tokelau* are underpinned by the genuine concern to maintain and protect peaceful, caring and loving relationships between Tokelau people.
2. Violence is emotional, verbal and physical abuse within *kāiga*, and is the violation and transgression of boundaries of relationships which disconnect victims, offenders and their *kāiga* from wellbeing. Violence and violations create disharmony, and confusion at many levels within the *kāiga*, which results in a state of *kāiga miha*.
3. The role of the *fatupaepae* (matriarchal senior woman) within the *kāiga* needs to be further researched.
4. Research is needed to understand the covenant between the brother and sister.
5. *faka-Tokelau* is the overarching framework from which family violence should be addressed to restore *ola mālōlō* (wellbeing), *ola māfuta* (belonging) and *ola fetufaaki* (contribution).
6. The tradition and custom of *inati* is an ethical imperative that calls on the village and collectives to care for the vulnerable in their communities.

Elements of the framework

The principles that inform practice are drawn from the *inati* system:

Te Kāiga Māopoopo: is absolute unity and purpose to achieve wellbeing for the individual and collective through peace and respect.

Alofa fai tamāmanu: is compassion shown amongst and between members in the distribution and redistribution of resources for the wellbeing of the *kāiga*. *Alofa fai tamāmanu* is shown especially towards those without *kāiga* and with no connection to *fenua*; those experiencing suffering; and, members who are unable to take care of themselves without support including the elderly, sick, physically and mentally disabled.

Vā feāloaki: connects people and is where sacred relationships between members of *kāiga* are respected and honoured through language, ritual and behaviour. The expressions of *vā feāloaki* are preserved when members of *kāiga* fulfil their duties and responsibilities to each other. Within *faka-Tokelau*, honouring those relationships is of high importance.

Fakaaloalo: is the behaviour and language used that honours and respects *vā feāloaki*.

Māopoopo: requires individuals to actively participate and work in unison with members of the collective.

Fakahoa lelei: is the spirit of fairness involved in the equal distribution of communal resources, as practised under the *inati* system.

Approach to violence

1. **Dispel** the notion that violence at collective and individual level is normal and is Acceptable, or that it is culturally valid within *faka-Tokelau*.
2. **Remove** opportunities for violence and violations to occur.
3. **Teach** transformative practices based on *faka-Tokelau* cultural imperatives that will transform behaviour and provide alternatives to violence.

Transformative processes

The primary transformative processes within *Kāiga Māopoopo* start from the belief that wellbeing, and strong, unified families are natural states of being for Tokelau people.

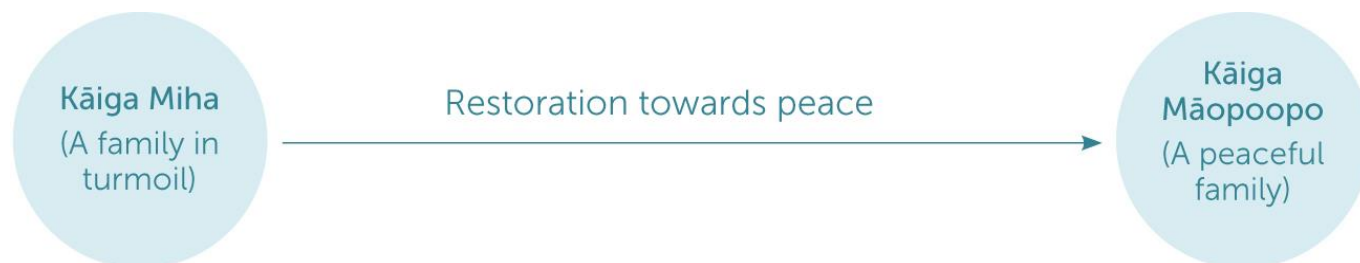
- Violence and violations of *vā feāloaki* relationships cause disruptions to the wellbeing of the *kāiga*.
- Transformative processes which include recovery, healing and reconciliation are underpinned by *faka-Tokelau* cultural imperatives.
- All the principles must be practised together to ensure that transformation and restoration of wellbeing occur.

The wellbeing, strength and unity of families are achieved through *Kāiga Māopoopo*, *alofa fai tamāmanu*, *vā feāloaki*, *fakaaloalo*, *māopoopo* and *fakahoa lelei*.

Introduction Fakatomuaga

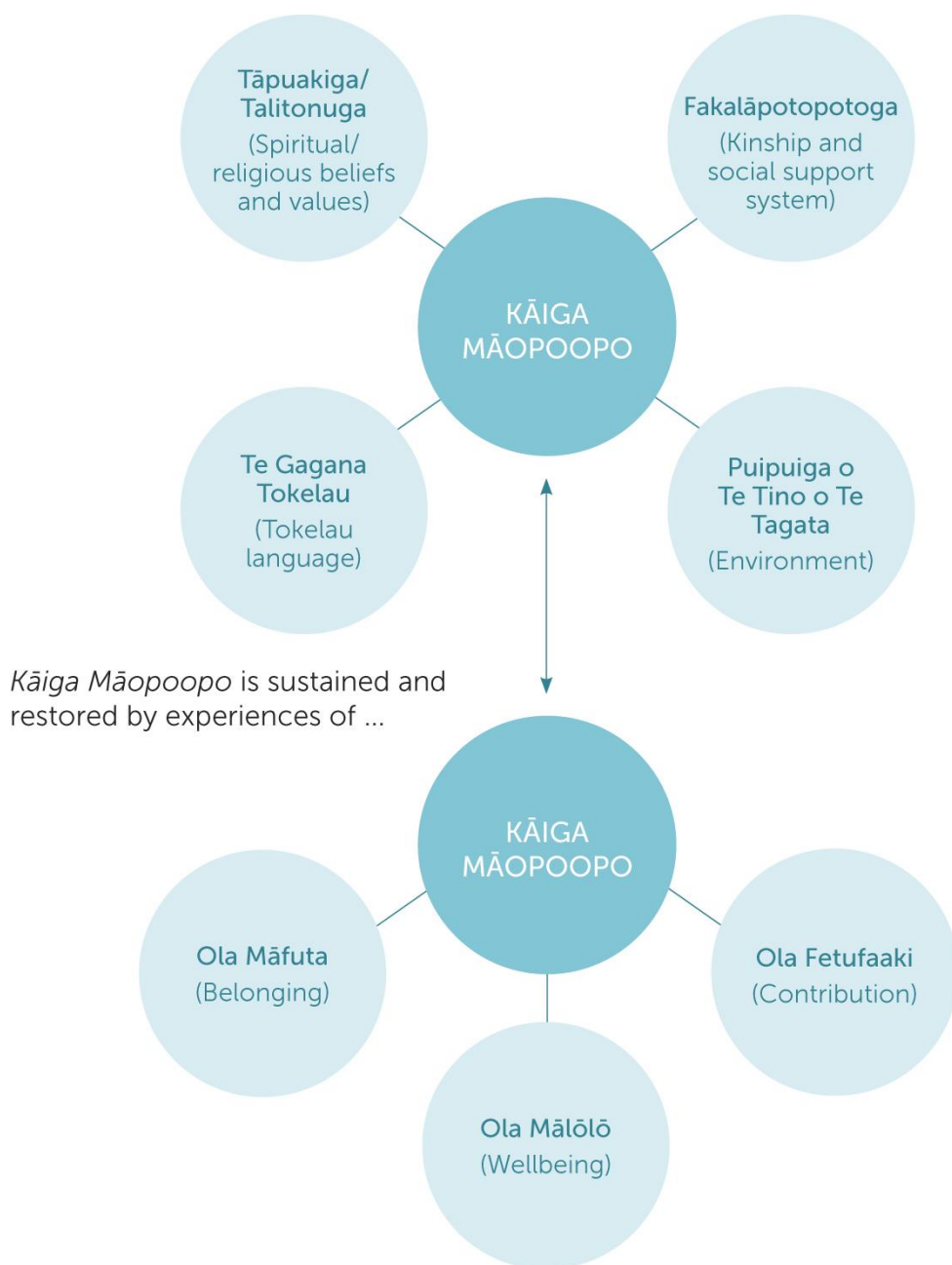
The vision of the *Kāiga Māopoopo* Conceptual Framework is wellbeing, and strong, unified families. It affirms that all Tokelau people are entitled to happiness, protection and the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations and potential in all aspects of their wellbeing. Violence disconnects both the victims and offenders from *Kāiga Māopoopo* and creates disharmony, and confusion at many levels of the *kāiga*. The result is a state of *kāiga miha*; if a person cannot find meaning in life, life is pointless and it is useless (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Continuum of wellbeing



Kāiga Māopoopo is also understood as *kaiga feālofani* or *kāiga filēmū* and is one of many Tokelau terms for wellbeing/wholeness. *Kāiga Māopoopo* is very distinctive as it has qualities that require absolute unity of Tokelau to achieve, maintain and protect peaceful, nurturing and caring relationships between and amongst their families. Inherent within *Kāiga Māopoopo* is the balance, harmony, and integration between *Tāpuakiga* and *Talitonuga* (spiritual and religious beliefs), *Fakalāpotopotoga* (kinship and support systems), *Puipuiga O Te Tino O Te Tagata* (Environment) and *Gagana Tokelau* (Tokelau language). See Figure 8.

Figure 8. Te Kāiga Māopoopo



Kāiga Māopoopo is achieved through the balance between

Kāiga Māopoopo refers to the wisdom within the *kāiga* and their social and religious communities. These communities of belonging are critical pathways to cultivating and nurturing wellbeing, and strong, respectful and unified families.

faka-Tokelau is the overarching framework from which family violence should be addressed to restore *ola mālōlō* (wellbeing), *ola māfuta* (belonging) and *ola fetufaaki* (contribution). The success of *Kāiga Māopoopo* is dependent on the absolute unity of the *kāiga* to achieve wellbeing. The *inati* customary process demonstrates and underpins this.

Elements of the framework

Fakakupuga tāua mō tēnei takiala

The vision of the *Kāiga Māopoopo* Conceptual Framework is wellbeing, and strong, respectful and unified families. It affirms that all Tokelau people are entitled to happiness, protection and the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations and potential in all aspects of their wellbeing. It is about the synchronisation and harmony of each member working together through reciprocal respect and being well organised. This is premised on the common good of their family and for society.

Alofa fai tamāmanu: is compassion shown towards the most vulnerable members of *kāiga*. The beliefs and practices surrounding *inati* exemplify this concept in the distribution of fish to ensure that all members of the village receive an equitable share of food resources. In this way *alofa fai tamāmanu* is shown, especially towards those without *kāiga* and with no connection to *fenua*, those experiencing suffering and difficulties, and those who are unable to take care of themselves without support.

Vā feāloaki: is the continuous establishment and maintenance of relationships. *Vā feāloaki* describes and represents the different and special connections and relationships that family members have to each other. For example, under *inati* a brother will give his catch to his sister to distribute to the rest of the *kāiga*. This describes his recognition of his duty and obligations to maintain *vā feāloaki* with his sister and his *kāiga* through *inati* and in the contexts of *faka-Tokelau*.

Fakaaloalo: is translated as respect, but its meanings are more complex. One example of *fakaaloalo* is the 'respect' given to the *Tautai* (expert fisherman) leading his fishing expedition. In return the *Tautai*, in his *alofa* (love and compassion) and *fakaaloalo* towards his companions, shares his expert knowledge of skills in fishing methods.

Fakaaloalo between all members of the *kāiga* is essential to maintaining wellbeing in *kāiga*. This is particularly true in the case of *toeaina* and *lōmatutua* (elderly men and women), the *tamana* (older male sibling) and *fatupaepae* (senior female) with members of the *kāiga*. The *tamana* of the *kāiga* works alongside the *fatupaepae* in making decisions for the *kāiga*. The *fatupaepae* is the matriarch, nurturer and protector of the *kāiga* and is very much involved in key decisions. *Fakaaloalo* is deeply embedded in the special bond between the *tamatāne* and *tamafafine* (brother and sister). It is known that a sister will give her son to her brother as his protector for life, especially if her brother leaves Tokelau. This gifting is known as *mate*. All *fakaaloalo* relationships are desirable and highly significant. They are exemplified by mutual respect and an understanding that the respectful fulfilment of roles and responsibilities is paramount to maintaining peace and harmony within the *kāiga*.

Māopoopo: is the harmonious synchronicity of members of the village community working together for the common good. In the *inati*, *māopoopo* is where the necessary tasks are determined by all members of the village coming together for the fishing expedition, with the sole purpose of providing food for the village. *Māopoopo* begins with the fishing expedition through to the distribution of the catch to all members of the village. Every person is involved in different ways, and each has their responsibilities and tasks to ensure the *inati* is complete.

Fakahoa lelei: is the spirit of fairness by which everyone is apportioned their equitable share of fish under the *inati* system. The fair and equal distribution of fish means that the needs and wellbeing of every person in the *kāiga* are considered to be important.

Family violence and violations

[Violence] ... is the 'violation' of the boundary of a relationship through disrespect, that is seen as the offence and, violence is the outcome – the physical or emotional harm.
(The Working Group, 2011)

Emotional, verbal and physical violence within the *kāiga* is the violation of the boundaries of relationships and *fakaaloalo* between members of the *kāiga*. This is seen as very disrespectful and leads to the physical, spiritual, psychological and emotional harm to a person and the *kāiga*. Violence disrupts multiple relationships and the wellbeing of members within the *kāiga* at a number of levels, bringing with it disharmony, imbalance and confusion.

Loving discipline of children

Traditionally, *kāiga* demonstrated their love for their children by providing for them, and the children in turn provided for their *kaiga* when they grew up. Children were brought up in a nurturing and loving environment. Correction of a child was done by way of words of *alofa*. Any dissension or friction created by a child aggrieved the parents or the '*kaiga*'. Obligatory roles of the men and women of the *kaiga* ensured the child was carefully nurtured and the extended arrangement of the *kāiga* also acted as a monitoring mechanism ensuring the child was safeguarded and protected. This is depicted in the following sayings:

Ko te tama a te manu e fafaga i nā ika, ko te tama a te tino e fafaga i nā kupu.
Rather than use the *halu* (cane) on children it is much wiser to use words of reason.
(Tufala, A., 2011: Working Group)

Another saying talks about teaching your child in the right way:

Takitakiga o tamaiti ki loto i nā kupu mōni.
Teach your children in the right way.
(Iupati, L., 2011: Working Group)

Nowadays, violence against family members sometimes occurs as a result of mental health issues. In these situations, members of the *kāiga* will try to help their loved ones; however, external clinical assistance is often required:

Even at the end point of the violence, parents will use our culture for restoration ... the sad thing is, it is the parents who continue to care for their children no matter how bad the situation is.
(Kupa, K., 2011: Working Group)

Practice imperatives

The Working Group strongly believes that the identified practice imperatives below are paramount to achieving and maintaining the wellbeing of the elderly, young, male and female in *kāiga*. The Working Group's experiences and understanding of *faka-Tokelau* are that it will continue to change over time and through generations. It is therefore important that Tokelau practitioners take responsibility for ensuring that the practice imperatives are relevant to the needs and circumstances of Tokelau people in the task of transforming violent behaviour and restoring wellbeing to *kāiga*. In addition, the task must belong to the practitioner and the entire community. Education is a vital key in prevention and intervention approaches to ending family violence.

While practices of *faka-Tokelau* are likely to continue to evolve over generations, the meanings and intent of the foundational values and principles remain constant; that is, they remain the same. Any movement away from foundational meanings and practice that protects wellbeing is an immediate indication that the foundational values and their meanings have been misinterpreted or distorted.

The practice imperatives take into account the diversity of Tokelau people, their lived experiences and family history. Therefore there is no one Tokelau cultural perspective or practice. This offers the

practitioner, victim and offender opportunities to be realistic, relevant, flexible and accommodating in any given circumstances.

An effective practitioner has critical knowledge and an understanding of:

1. The New Zealand environment and context regarding family violence, particularly the:

- dynamics and structure of *kāiga*
- dynamics and structure of the churches to which Tokelau people belong
- dynamics and structure of each *nuku* in Tokelau (village in Tokelau)
- ability to facilitate family groups and working on a one-to-one basis
- ability to rekindle the wisdom and knowledge within the *kāiga* and introduce new knowledge to assist with restoration to wellbeing
- knowledge of New Zealand institutions, systems and their processes.

2. Self-realisation and awareness of:

- their personal limitations, strengths and opportunities
- how to communicate effectively with people born in Tokelau; those born in Aotearoa New Zealand; and those who affiliate with more than one ethnic group as a result of a mixed marriage
- the influence of modern times on complementary relationships between the *tamatāne* and *tamafafine*, *pule* and *fatupaepae*, and *toeaina* and *loomatutua*.

3. Moving at the pace of the family and their social support network:

- being able to work with the family and moving at their pace and acknowledging their insights
- understanding the social support system for Tokelau people in their communities in Tokelau and in Aotearoa New Zealand is essential (Kupa, 2009: 157).

An effective practitioner has:

- accreditation in *gagana Tokelau* and the English language
- the ability to critically analyse violence and violation at a theoretical and practical level.

These skills are required and based on the concepts of Tokelau that show the strength of its values based on traditional (foundation) values. This is to assist the victims, offenders and *kāiga* to work together in a meaningful, purposeful and appropriate fashion.

Mālamalama loloto faka-Tokelau – talitonuga fakavae o te inati Tokelau philosophy – principles of inati

Underlying the concept of *inati* is the idea that no *kāiga* is deprived of the daily necessities of sustenance. This ethic of equitable distribution encapsulates the essential meaning of providing for the wellbeing and welfare of vulnerable members of a community. Traditionally *inati* was embedded in communal practice. It involved the equitable apportioning of the entire day's catch by the women under the guidance of the *fatupaepae* (matriarch of the *kāiga*). Under this system, if a woman with young children had no husband or descendants to help her with the communal fishing, she received an equal share of the catch compared with a family with many able-bodied men who took part in communal fishing (Kupa, 2009).

Ko te tauhiga ki te ōla mālōlō, mākeke ma fakamāopoopo kāiga Maintenance of wellbeing, and strong, unified families

Fatupaepae – matriarchal leader

A cultural practice that is influential in the *kāiga* is the role of the *fatupaepae* (matriarch), which is the honourable title given to elderly women or women of seniority of the *tamafafine* descended from the female lines (Kupa, 2009: 157). These matriarchs are responsible for overseeing the equal and fair distribution of resources as a means of maintaining the welfare and care of the entire extended *kāiga*. The *fatupaepae* holds a privileged leadership role and is influential in making key family decisions (*ibid*; Huntsman et al, 1996: 114). Her role, more than any other, is the central symbol of *kāiga* and is not based on hierarchy but rather on leadership, where she represents wisdom, compassion, justice and, strength and decisions are based on consensus by *kāiga*. The white stones in front of the *fale*, as shown in the picture above, represent the foundations upon which the *fale* is constructed, known as the *fatupaepae*. This physical representation symbolises the *fatupaepae*. The solidarity of the whole group and success of the day-to-day operations depend upon the fairness and the moral authority of the *fatupaepae* (*ibid*; Kupa, 2009).

Toeaina

He toeaina ke nofo i te mulivaka

“An Elder to sit at the canoe's stern”. (Kupa, 2009)

Toeaina (male elders) are the repositories of Tokelau knowledge. They draw on their “vast knowledge, experience and wisdom” (Kupa, 2009: 156) to generate discussions with their *kāiga* across intergenerational commonalities and differences to assist them. In *faka-Tokelau*, *toeaina* are stewards, who, when called upon, guide and lead *kāiga*. The above saying likens the place and role of *toeaina* to sitting at the stern of the *vaka* (canoe) to oversee the welfare and safety of the crew. Today *toeaina* continue to play a critical role in decisions affecting the *kāiga* and Tokelau communities throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. *Toeaina* will consult with the *fatupaepae* on matters discussing aspects of life that promote the wellbeing of their *kāiga* and the wider community. He ensures the direction of the *kāiga* is secure and safe. This is reflected in *te kāiga māopoopo* – the united, peaceful and respectful family.

Kāiga

In *faka-Tokelau*, *kāiga* can be understood in different contexts such as *kāiga*, *pui kāiga* and *kau kāiga*. The different arrangements of kin groups, the circumstances under which they come together and their purpose are focused on achieving the wellbeing of their family members. A traditional feature of the *kāiga* was the complementary roles of the *tamatāne* (male) and the *tamafafine* (female). Each had rights unique to their position and status, responsibilities and duties within the *kāiga*. The male line was responsible for providing

and working for the benefit of the *kāiga*, while the female line was responsible for the distribution of food and resources given to her by her brother.

Vā o te tamatāne ma te tuafafine

Vā o te tamatāne ma te tuafafine is a sacred, honourable and significant relationship. It is based on mutual respect, obligation, harmony and *faikāiga*. That is, they are deeply concerned for each other's welfare and the welfare of their *kāiga* and wider kin:

The brother-sister relationship is the most significant and highly cherished Relationship in Tokelau culture. Sacred values are attached to this relationship. (Hope and Percival, 2010: 9)

The reciprocal obligations underpinning this relationship were distinctly marked by the brother taking responsibility for the needs and care of his sister once she was married. As mentioned earlier, the sister in turn would give her son to her brother (a custom known as *mate*) when he left the shores of Tokelau. The sister's son became the protector of his uncle even to the point of death. This tradition showed the strength of connection between a brother and his sister, which has been in practice through many generations and continues today. As a very sacred relationship, stringent codes of behaviour between brothers and sisters are adhered to. These include observing respectful language and behaviour between the brother and sister and to their children. Another is that children refer to their mother and father's brothers and sisters as their mothers and fathers.

Kupu fakaiku Conclusion

Within *faka-Tokelau*, violence is neither supported nor disregarded. The *Kāiga Māopoopo* Conceptual Framework was developed to assist Tokelau practitioners and mainstream organisations in their work with Tokelau victims, offenders and their *kāiga*. It is important that the Conceptual Framework is understood in the context of the concepts and principles that promote the wellbeing and dignity of Tokelau people, based on *faka-Tokelau*. The Tokelau communities in Aotearoa New Zealand are diverse; however, the concepts in this document are understood and practised by many Tokelau *kāiga* and individuals.

Over time, Tokelau people have experienced changes brought about by colonial, post-colonial, migration and contemporary influences. Because of these changes, further research is required to identify whether these have weakened or strengthened protector factors within *faka-Tokelau*. Of particular interest is the role of the church and Tokelau community organisations, the role of *fatupaepae* and the strong connection between *tamatāne* and *tuafafine* within *kāiga*.

This report provides the basis upon which further knowledge can be built. The concepts of *kāiga māopoopo*, *alofa fai tamā manu*, *vā feāloaki*, *fakaaloalo*, *māopoopo* and *fakahoa lelei* have been identified as key protective factors for *kāiga* Tokelau. Other protective factors are: *loto kāiga*, *feālofani*, *fakamagalo* and *fehoahoani*.

The Working Group would like to end this section of the report with a Tokelau traditional prayer. It eloquently reflects the sentiments of Tokelau in the desire that the lives of our children will continuously flourish based on a foundation of wisdom, humbleness, love, life and blessings. This prayer is a gentle reminder of the significance that our values and beliefs systems have in ensuring the wellbeing of our *kāiga* in Aotearoa New Zealand.

"Tui Tokelau ee!!!
he tai poto!
he tai lotomaulalo!
he tai alofa!
he tai ola!
he tai manuia!"

*“Kei foki atu ki te kau tautai
tenei. Aua te ola o te tinihu!!!”*

“The God of Tokelau a sea of wisdom!
a sea of humbleness!
a sea of love!
a sea of life!
a sea of blessings!”

(Galo, 2006)

Tonga

Tongan Working Group: Tae Tuinukuafe, Tina Fifita, Malia Hamani, Hola Samani, John Tesimale, Osaiasi Kupu, Sioeli Vaiangina, Rev Iki Pope, Dr James Prescott, 'Aminiasi Ikamafana Tameifuna (Leader), Emeline Afeaki-Mafile'o (Writer)

Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga

A Tongan Conceptual Framework for the prevention of and intervention in family violence in New Zealand – Fāmili lelei

Key findings

1. *Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga* is a metaphor of which one underlying meaning is an invitation to family members to come together and talanoa – to talk. The desired outcome from this talanoa is the maintenance of wellbeing, or to end violence and return to wellbeing and fāmili kaukaua mo kaukauola.
2. Violence is behaviour that seeks to control people and families.
3. The principles that inform practice are the Faa'i Kaveikoula 'a e Tonga (Tonga's Pillars):

Faka'apa'apa: acknowledging and returning respect

Anga fakatokilalo/loto tō: humility (evident in being teachable)

Tauhi vaha'a/vā:⁵⁸ keeping the relationship ongoing, alive and well

Mamahi'i me'a: one's loyalty and passion.

4. 'Ofa (love and care, kindness) is the philosophical ground upon which Faa'i Kaveikoula 'a e Tonga (Tonga's Pillars) stand.
5. *Fakataputapu* is a process that 'clears the way' so that no offence is caused to any person.
6. In the Tongan context, when the dimensions of *atamai* (mind/mental), *laumālie* (spiritual), and *sino* (physical) are *napangapanga mālie* (in balance) or *potupotumālie* (all the components, elements are in balance), wellbeing is achieved.
7. *Anga faka'ei'eiki* (behaving with dignity) is conduct that is desirable and becoming of Tongan people, which is to be principled and dignified in behaviour, speech and thought.

Tapu relationships in families

The *tapu* relationships that exist between family members are status and covenant. These include the *tapu* between fathers and children, fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters, and a sister's brothers and her husband.

In order to know what behaviour is appropriate in any given situation, each person needs to understand their role and position in the family, and the specific *tapu* relationships that exist between the members in their family. An example is the relationship between family members and their 'ulumotu'a. The "rightful duty of the 'ulumotu'a (literally old head) is to organise the *ha'a* (tribe) of the grown brothers and their families. The 'ulumotu'a is usually the eldest brother of one's father or the eldest brother of one's paternal grandfather".⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Tauhi vā* literally means to be ready to fight to maintain and preserve relationships (Taumoefolau, 1991).

⁵⁹ Taumoefolau, 1991.

Vei tapui: brother-sister

There are special relationships within *kāinga* which entail responsibilities and obligations between siblings and their children. The relationship between “brother and sister is one of *faka’apa’apa* (respect)⁶⁰ and *tapu* (prohibition)”.⁶¹ The role of the *tuonga’ane* (brother of female) is to protect the reputation of his *tuofefine* (sister of male) and her honour as a female. Her honour is his honour, and the family honour.⁶² The *tuofefine* is the *mehikitanga* of her brother’s children. The role of *mehikitanga* is similar to that of consultant to her brother in major family life-crisis situations such as births, deaths, marriages and other celebrations. At certain events, such as the death of her *fakafotu* (brother’s child), the sister’s role as *mehikitanga* changes, and she and her children hold the ceremonial rank as *fahu* at the funeral. Their status is marked by symbolic acts and forms of dress to indicate their status as being superior to her brother and his children.⁶³

In *anga fakaTonga*, a man’s wife is also *mehikitanga* and holds ceremonial rank of *fahu* over her brother and his children. In this context, it is expected that the husband respects his wife in the same way that he respects his sister, who is *mehikitanga* and *fahu* of his children.

Fa’ētangata: the mother’s brother

Another important relationship is the one that exists between the mother’s brother, who is known as the *fa’ētangata*, and her children. “The daughters of the mother are known as *‘ilamutu* to their *fa’ētangata*. Based on the relationship between *‘ilamutu* and *fa’ētangata*”,⁶⁴ he is also known as the *fa’iteliha’anga* – the person with whom “his sisters’ children can do as they please”. On the occasion of the *‘ilamutu*’s death, the *fa’iteliha’anga* and his children become *liongi* at her funeral. They are recognised by certain symbolic acts and forms of dress, as the people who are inferior to their *‘ilamutu*.⁶⁵

Fathers and children

The hierarchical nature of Tongan culture (*pea ne fakafahehehehe’i kitautolu*) can alienate and divide people. It can easily be oppressive towards the most vulnerable and powerless in Tongan society. Similarly, in Tongan families, men are given authority and responsibility to act with *faka’apa’apa* – *feveitokai’aki* (respect acknowledged – reciprocated respect), but this can be abused.

The “*tamai* (father) is the decision maker in the family, who also has *pule* (control)” over important family matters. “Every family member must *fakaongoongo* – have the attitude of waiting and listening for instructions” from him. He can “exercise corporal punishment as a way of *ako’i* (teaching) and *o’i* (moulding) his children’s” behaviour and attitudes. “By not punishing his children, this may be viewed as a sign of his weakness: *‘ofa vale* (foolish love), *vaivai kovi* (bad weakness), or *ta’e tokanga* (being uncaring) to his children.”⁶⁶

‘Oku tupu ‘a e taa mei he ‘ita means violence comes from anger. The *mafai* (authority) of the father includes a responsibility to inspire and encourage an understanding of the correct meanings and interpretations of culture. Two important concepts and principles which should be practised are *faka’apa’apa* and *tauhi vaha’a/vā*.

⁶⁰ Taumoeolau (*ibid*) explains that *faka’apa’apa* means more than the meaning of the English word respect. The root word *‘apa’apa* is to do with occupying the side position and therefore maintaining a protective stance. In the royal *kava* ceremony, the monarch sits at the head of the *kava* circle of over a hundred persons. Two persons who sit immediately on either side of him are called *‘apa’apa* – who are like guards. Similarly, the brother has a protective role towards his sister.

⁶¹ *ibid*.

⁶² *ibid*.

⁶³ *ibid*.

⁶⁴ Taumoeolau, *ibid*.

⁶⁵ *ibid*.

⁶⁶ *ibid*.

Situations where the *tamai* may abuse his role include:

A father may feel the need to assert himself by using controlling language: “*Kau ka lea atu ‘oua toe lea mai he ko au ko e ‘ulu*” (the father is speaking – if and when I am speaking you don’t answer back because I am the head of the family). The father must remember that the *mafai* is a responsibility and not a right.

A father may ignore and not communicate with his children as a form of control, causing the children to become angry because their voices are continuously suppressed: “*Oku hoko ‘a e ‘ita – koe’uhi ko e lahi hono lolomi e fanau. ‘Oku ‘ikai ke fanongoa ki he le’o ‘o e fanau pe ko ha taha pe – pea fakatupu ‘ita ai*” (the voice of the children or anyone else is not heard – and creates an angry response). *Fiema’u ia ketau fanongo ‘aki hotau loto kotoa* (we need to listen with all our heart for when people are not heard their uncontrolled/unmanaged anger leads to violence).

The father must remember that communication is very important.

Tapu relationships between families and practitioners

Tapu relationships can also exist between family members and practitioners.

This may inhibit the exchange of free and frank discussions if *tapu* members of the family are present and the appropriate language is not known.

Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga

A Tongan Conceptual Framework for the prevention and intervention of family violence in New Zealand – Fāмили lelei

The vision of the Framework is wellbeing (‘*atamai*, *laumalie* and *sino* in balance) and *kaukaua mo kaukauola*.

Approach to violence

There are three critical processes that must be applied when approaching violence and when responding to a perpetrator of violence:

1. Dismiss the belief that anger and violence are natural or acceptable in ‘*ulungaanga faka-Tonga*.
2. Eliminate the opportunities for anger and violence to be practised by empowering individuals, *fāмили* and *kāinga*.
3. Provide and teach transformative practices based on *Faa’i Kaveikoula ‘a e Tonga*.⁶⁷

Principles

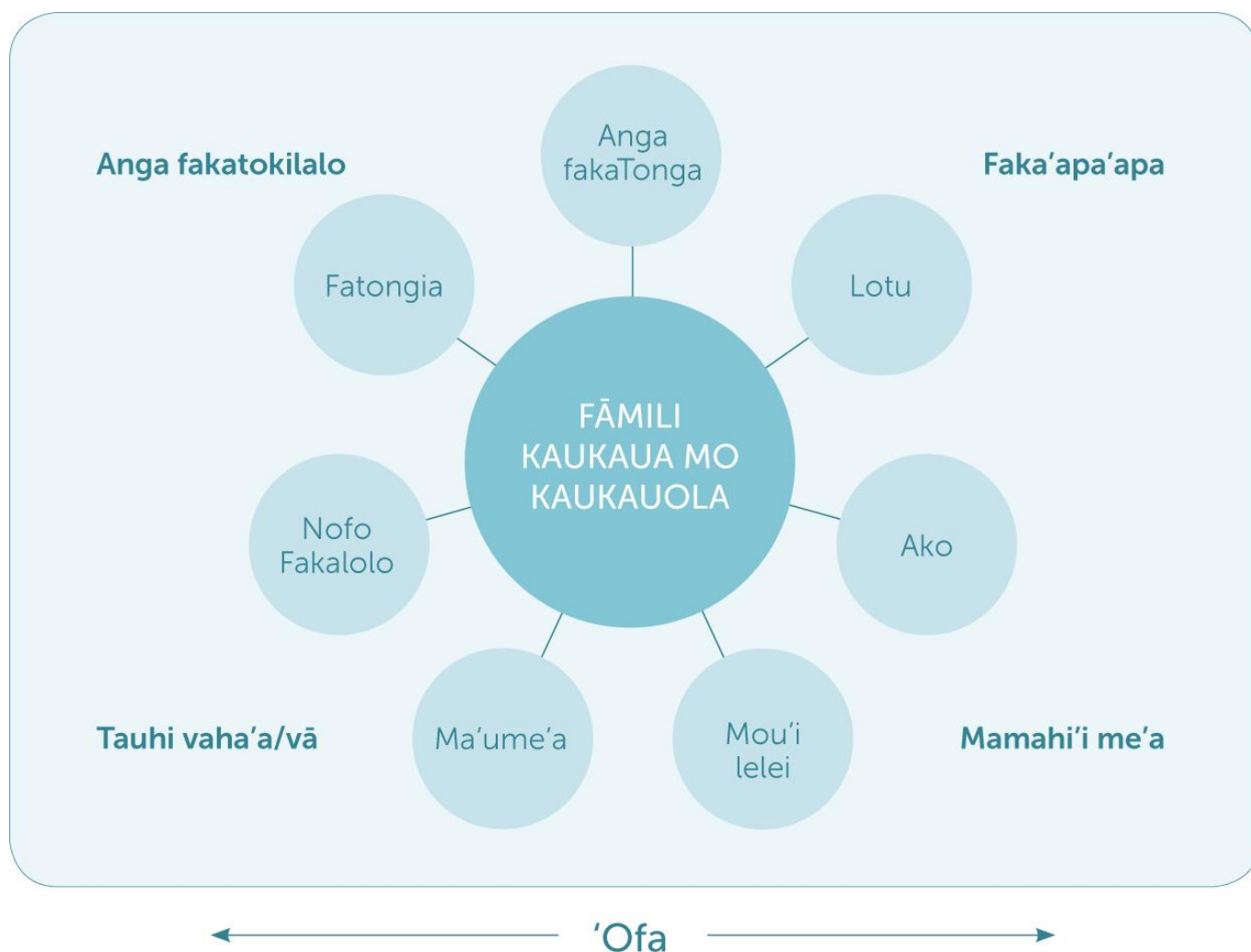
The principles that inform practice are:

- *Faka’apa’apa*: acknowledging and returning respect
- *Anga fakatokilalo/loto tō*: humility, and being open to learning (evident in being teachable)
- *Tauhi vaha’a/vā*: to be prepared to fight/take on the challenges of maintaining relationship(s) (keeping the relationship ongoing, alive and well)
- *Mamahi’i me’a*: loyalty, devotion, and passion

‘*Ofa* (love and care, kindness) is the philosophical ground upon which *Faa’i Kaveikoula ‘a e Tonga* (Tonga’s Pillars) stand.

⁶⁷ Adapted from *Transforming Whānau Violence – A Conceptual Framework* (2004).

Figure 9. Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga



Elements of the Conceptual Framework

Anga faka-Tonga (Tongan culture): encompasses the beliefs, practices and aspirations of Tongan people and their families. *Anga faka-Tonga* evolves and these changes (*'oku liliu mo mo'ui*) can be positive.

Lotu (religion): is an essential part of *fāмили lelei*. It is often in the Lotu that the Tongan values and kinship roles are strengthened.

Ako (education): many Tongan people believe education is the key to success, social mobility, achieving goals and meeting *fatongia* (obligations). Education can be formal from an institution, or learnings in community or experiences in life. Tongan parents often encourage their children to attend school and continue through to university.

Mo'uilelei (health): physical as well as in all other aspects, where there is balance between exercise activities, balanced and healthy eating, recreation and events for socialisation.

Ma'ume'a (wealth/prosperity): the concept of *tangata fa'a* (most industrious man) focuses on the financial situation/position, and family economy and work/employment. Families that have become wealthier and highly educated have created another level in the highly hierarchical culture. This group could be identified as an emerging group of people who, through opportunity, have become more prosperous and consequently influential within their own *kāinga*, *fa'ahinga* and *ha'a* and slowly influencing other communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Nofo fakakolo (community involvement): values such as *tauhi vā* show how important human relationships and maintaining these are for Tongan people. Communalism is strongly reflected in the Tongan language.⁶⁸

Fatongia (obligations and responsibilities): every family in Tongan society has a very clear link to the *Fale Lahi* (literally big house; a reference to the palace), which defines the level of their *fatongia*. Nowadays, it is up to each family as to whether or not they fulfil their *fatongia*. Observance of *fatongia* is often fulfilled out of *‘ofa fonua* (fervent patriotism), *mateaki* (committed and devoted loyalty), *tauhi fonua* (meeting *fonua*-culture obligations), and *melino* and *faataha* (peace and unity).

Practice imperatives

An effective Tongan practitioner has good a knowledge and understanding of:

- their personal limitations, strengths and opportunities
- Tongan values in *Faa’i Kavekoula ‘a e Tonga*, and in particular:
 - *Faka’apa’apa*
 - *Tauhi vaha’a/vā*
- effective communication with Tongan people raised in Tonga and in New Zealand; and demonstrates *Anga fakatōkilalo/lotō*
- *ulungaanga faka-Tonga*, and speaks fluent Tongan and English languages
- the New Zealand environment in terms of family violence including its institutions, systems and laws
- the application of the seven elements of the Framework for Tongan people in New Zealand
- safe practice; and observes how the training programme is run.

Violence in fāmili

Violence is a behaviour or action that is used to control another person, family or people.
(Working Group, 2011, Waipuna)

Mafai – ‘o e tamai – Ke ako’i ke tonu ‘a hono ‘uhinga. It must include knowing and respecting the rights of everyone *‘a e ngaahi totonu ‘o e tokotaha kotoa*.

Violence is a violation of traditional *vā* relationships between family members. The Working Group strongly supports the re-institution of *vā* relationships, which places the responsibility of ending violence on men.

Violence is a violation of our families. The following are some behaviours of violence in our families:

<i>Tā</i>	to hit (physically)
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⁶⁸ Taumoeolau, *ibid*.

<i>Fakamamahi'i</i>	to abuse (verbally and emotionally)
<i>Fakaehaua</i>	to rule the family arbitrarily, with oppression
<i>Pakinitā</i>	to bully often, a hit-first-ask-later habit
<i>Tafulu</i>	nagging, telling off
<i>Fakalongolongo'i</i>	to use silence as revenge
<i>Fakakikila'i</i>	to make an angry face
<i>Hua fakapangopango</i>	verbally mocking

The Working Group identified that *anga faka-Tonga* is often blamed or used as an excuse for the violence that occurs in our *fāmilī* and *kāinga*. This leads to the perception by people that violence is part of *anga faka-Tonga*.

Conclusion

Fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga is one pathway taken to discuss and re-examine Tongan values and principles that are important for preventing and ending violence in *kāinga* and *fāmilī*.

Figure 10. Pathways to and from fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga



A feature of the Tongan worldview is that it is largely informed by 'rank-consciousness'. Individuals hold different positions and rank in a range of situations:

A person who is a fa'ē (mother) may also be a tuofefine ... and a mehikitanga ... A person who is fahu (superior) to one family may also be liongi (inferior) to another ... Everyone will exercise some control over others and at the same time be subject to someone else's control.

A second characteristic of the Tongan worldview is the strong sense of belonging, of what is acceptable and what is not. There are strongly defined relationships amongst Tongan people and things in their surroundings. These are important ideas of communalism which are expressed in for example, the concepts of *mateaki/mamahi'ime'a* (loyalty) and *tauhi vā* (to be ready to fight to preserve a relationship) (Taumoefolau, *ibid*).

One identified challenge is the potential for the abuse of *mafai* and *pule* within families. The values that are important to preventing this include *tauhi vaha'a/vā*, *mamahi'i me'a*, *faka'apa'apa*, *anga fakatokilalo*,

faka'akiakimui and “*talangofua/taliangi* (respectful, humble, obedience)”.⁶⁹ These speak to the honouring of *tapu* relationships within our families.

There is significance in the reciprocal relationships between *Ha'a Tu'i*, *Hou'eiki Nōpele*, and *Ha'a Me'avale* which are underpinned by *Faa'i kaveikoula 'a e Tonga* – Tonga's Pillars. These Pillars are the principles that emphasise and reinforce the practical approaches that eventuate from *fofola e fala kae talanoa e kāinga*.

These are examples of the strengths-based values and principles within Tongan culture that can transform violence and restore peace, harmony, and healing to families. Of critical importance is “Tongan language because it reflects the values and principles”⁷⁰ of culture.

Contemporary influences such as colonisation and migration are crucial knowledge gaps in research. Tongan specific research is important to inform ongoing approaches and strategies for addressing prevention and intervention initiatives.

In conclusion, Tongan kinship determines our *fatongia* to our *kāinga*, *ha'a* and *fonua*. As a community, the concept of *ma'uma'uluta* in Tongan kinship will bring *kaukaua mo kaukauola* and wellbeing to *kāinga*. By upholding the value of kinship we fulfil our *fatongia* to our *kāinga*, our *fonua*: responsibility, family and people.

⁶⁹ Taumoevalau, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Tuvalu

Tuvalu Working Group: Telaki Taniela, Reverend Alee Talava, Apiseka Eka, Sagaa Malua, Beniamina Maatusi, Salota Telematua. Manuila Tausi (Leader/Writer)

Toku fou tiale

Tuvalu Conceptual Framework

The Framework symbolises the setting of *fatele* – Tuvaluan traditional dance performances. In *fatele*, a group of people who form part of the singing group is seated in the centre of the circle pounding a wooden box. They are surrounded by the remaining members of the singing group. At the edge of the singing group is a row of dancers.

The Framework sets out to restore *kaaiga ola filemu*, and to achieve the optimum level of wellbeing in *kaaiga* Tuvalu. It begins with recognition of *fakasauaaga i loto i te kaaiga* – violence in the *kaaiga*.

Figure 11. Tuvalu Conceptual Framework for addressing family violence



Elements and practice imperatives

Outlined below are six interconnected elements that inform integrated strategies that can potentially transform the behaviour of both the victims and the perpetrators of family violence. Included are guide lines on best practice standards for Tuvaluan practitioners and service providers:

1. **Akoakoga** is the overarching transformative process whereby Tuvaluans should take responsibility for changing their attitudes and behaviour through education. This a partnership between Tuvaluan communities, Tuvalu practitioners and service providers. The education process can occur through either a discussion of alternatives to violence or a discussion of the detrimental effects of knowingly remaining silent about family violence in the community.
2. **Enivailomene** allows practitioners to look into the natural, physical and psychological environment of the family affected by violence. Opportunities are provided to explore, for example, issues of overcrowding in households as a possible trigger of violence in the family.
3. **Gagana** establishes the importance of being fluent in both the Tuvaluan and English languages. Practitioners are then able to make decisions on the need to include Tuvalu interpreters or work alongside Tuvaluan community leaders in the transformation and restoration processes. As most Tuvaluans are recent migrants to New Zealand, their command of the English language is very limited. It is essential that where English language is used, communication must be delivered at a very basic level.
4. **Kaaiga** determines the family connections that practitioners need to consider in transformation and restoration processes. The *pule* of the family needs to be identified as well as the extended family leadership group.
5. **Talitonuga/lotu** identifies the religious beliefs of individuals in the family affected by violence. This information enables practitioners to consider the involvement of leaders from relevant church groups (*kaulotu*). On rare occasions, differences in religious beliefs may also trigger violence in *kaaiga* Tuvalu.
6. **Fakapotopotoga** gives practitioners a sense of understanding of the social networks linked to the family affected by violence. The financial burden of too many *fakalavelave* may have played a part in family violence and practitioners should, at the very least, be conscious of this problem.

Fakasauaaga i loto i kaaiga: violence in kaaiga

The term *fakasauaaga* describes violence. *Fakasauaaga i loto i kaaiga* or violence in *kaaiga* is a disruption in the optimum level of wellbeing in the *kaaiga*, resulting in a *kaaiga tupu taua* (volatile family) at the other end of the continuum of family wellbeing (refer Figure 12).

Figure 12. The continuum of kaaiga wellbeing



Strengths-based concepts in Tuvalu culture

Tulaga o te Kaaiga Tuvalu – structure and role of the family

Kaaiga (family) plays an important role in Tuvaluan society. The *kaaiga* in Tuvalu includes the extended family and kinship groups. *Fale* (households) may comprise more than one nuclear family and members of the extended family.⁷¹ If the *kaaiga* is functioning well, the health and wellbeing of its members and the wider community are less likely to be compromised, and the foundation for strong communities is maintained.

The household is headed by the *pule*,⁷² who is usually the eldest active male resident in the household. The *pule* is the main decision-maker. Each member of the *kaaiga* has a role to fulfil. The traditional role of women was to look after the children, prepare food, fetch water, undertake housekeeping, weave mats and baskets, tend animals, and participate in church and community activities.

It is normal practice for family members to come together daily for evening devotions. This is also a time for the *kaaiga* to catch up and discuss matters of interest, to address any developing conflicts within their household, and to address any issues of alcohol and drug abuse within the *kaaiga*. It is in this environment where, under the direction of the *pule*, everyone learns the division of tasks. In many *kaaiga* the decision-making process is the responsibility of the adults (especially the males), with the final decisions made by the *pule*. Nonetheless, all family members participate in the implementation of decisions.

Kaaiga ola filemu – peace and wellbeing

Kaaiga ola filemu is the term used to describe a peaceful family where individuals and the family have reached the optimum level of wellbeing. Individuals in the *kaaiga ola filemu* exhibit the key values of *aava* (respect), *alofa* (deep concern and affection), *fakatalitonugina* (being trustworthy), *fealofani* (living in harmony with one another) and *fakatau fesoasoani* (helping one another) in their relationships with other members of the *kaaiga*.

In recent times, the differences in roles between men and women have become less defined within the *kaaiga*, particularly in the capital island, Funafuti. This is mainly due to the lack of access to land for some *kaaiga*, employment and the cash economy lessening the need to live off the land, and women becoming income earners themselves, thus altering their role within the *kaaiga*.⁷³

Va fakaaloalo – respectful relationships

Respectful relationships between different members of the *kaaiga* are important. This is particularly in the case of the brother and sister relationship and opposite-gender cousins, where the *tuagaene* or sisters are venerated by their brothers. The sisters must not be provoked or embarrassed, as it is forbidden to spill the tears of the *tuagaene*.⁷³

There is also a strong bond between *tuaatina* (the relationship between a mother's brother and her child) where the expectation of the uncle, regardless of the hardship or danger involved, is to assist and help his niece or nephew where requested. This exemplifies the mutual respect that is developed between the uncle and the nephew or niece.

⁷¹ *Fale* literally means a house or building and is used interchangeably with household to identify family members living in the same house.

⁷² *Pule* refers to the recognised head of the household. A widowed woman who is the eldest in the household may become the *pule*, at times handing over responsibilities to her eldest son.

⁷³ Selu et al, 2010.

Olaga fakatau fesoasoani – reciprocity

The ‘Tuvaluan way’ is a communal life that gives a spirit of togetherness and sharing. In this context, reciprocity plays a big part in Tuvaluan life as relatives, friends and neighbours help each other in times of hardship.⁷⁴ Since it is often difficult to refuse requests for assistance, families will spend most of their income on extended family obligations and community contributions, leaving little for family needs and virtually no savings.⁷⁵

Taaua o manafa – importance of land

Tuvaluans value their land above any other possession. *Manafa* (pieces of land or land areas) are not simply economic assets, they are a symbol of status in the community and are more important than money.⁷⁶

Land in Tuvalu is held by families and is passed on through generations. With the exception of land that has been gifted, adopted, exchanged or bequeathed under the terms of a will, land is passed on through the eldest son. All families, including extended family members, live and eat together on their inherited land areas. The division of land among siblings is a matter for the family. The law only intervenes if there is a dispute among the siblings.

Pulepulega faka-fenua – Tuvalu local (island) governance structure

The *Falekaupule*⁷⁷ is known as the ‘house of knowledge’ and is traditionally the place where the community conducts its meetings and holds its celebrations. Young people are generally not permitted to speak or be involved in decision-making as it is regarded as disrespectful to the elders. The traditional community structure comprises the *aliki* (chief) and his advisers: his speaker, chiefly clans, healers and canoe builders, followed by women and young people.⁷⁸

Tulaga o te Lotu – role of the church

Although an introduced practice, Christianity now plays an important role in the life of a Tuvaluan. On every island people look after the welfare of their pastor by providing him with a home and building a church. Each island appoints a family as guardian for the pastor’s children and they provide for the daily needs of food, clothing and money through gifts. “One of the main causes of hardship experienced by people in Tuvalu is the fundraising activities imposed by the church.”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Niuatui, 1991.

⁷⁵ Refer also to *fakalavelave* below.

⁷⁶ Faaniu et al, 1976.

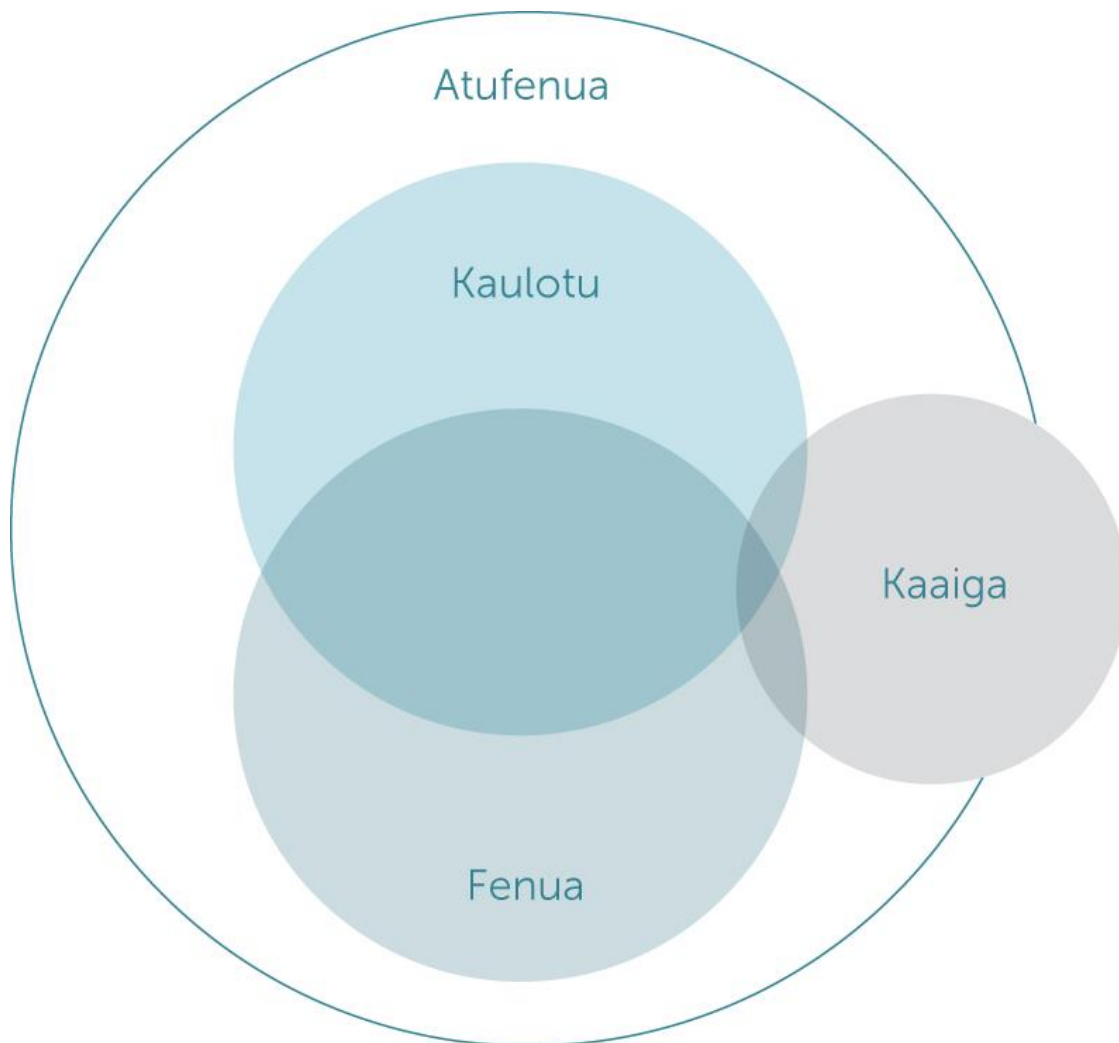
⁷⁷ *Falekaupule* literally means the house from where chiefs make decisions, but also includes the island and its people.

⁷⁸ Faaniu et al, 1983.

Te olaga ko mafuli: a contemporary New Zealand context

Tuvaluans living in New Zealand gather as *kaaiga*, *fenua* (island of origin), *kaulotu* (church congregation) and *atufenua* (country). As individuals, Tuvaluans can belong to one or more of these collective identities. Leaders of *fenua*, *kaulotu* and *atufenua* are elected by individuals in those groups.

Figure 13. Tuvaluan-based collectives in New Zealand



Moving to a new country with different values, beliefs and expectations creates change in the structure of the *kaaiga*. For Tuvaluans living in New Zealand, money is now more valuable than land. Instead of relying on social welfare programmes from the New Zealand Government, the *pule* of the *kaaiga* are expected to ensure that the health and wellbeing of their *kaaiga* are provided for by taking up employment. The necessity for both parents to work in order to meet financial commitments means that they have less time to support their children's development and wellbeing.

As employment opportunities are available for both men and women in New Zealand, Tuvaluan women have the opportunity to become main income earners in their *kaaiga*. As with their Funafuti counterparts, their roles within their *kaaiga* have significantly changed, where, for example, a woman:

... is able, for the first time in her life, to work full-time and become the main breadwinner in the family ... A change in family roles was identified in this case, as the wife had become the main income earner in the family, whereas her husband (who was the main breadwinner in Tuvalu) was working part-time and looking after their children. (Simati, 2009)

Addictions: The availability and accessibility of alcohol, drugs and gambling amenities in New Zealand are contributing factors in preventing successful settlement in New Zealand, and often lead to violence in the family. A significant number of Tuvaluans whose families are struggling to make ends meet have become

addicted to gambling. The health and wellbeing of their children are often compromised. These risk factors must be included when addressing violence in Tuvaluan families in New Zealand.

Overcrowding: While the spirit of togetherness and sharing is important in Tuvaluan life, it can often lead to more than one nuclear family living in the same household, resulting in overcrowded households. On top of the impacts of poor health and lower educational achievement of children in these households, overcrowding “may also lead to sexual violence and children abuse” (Selu et al, 2010). However, the reality of overcrowded households may be a direct consequence of the low disposable incomes experienced by recent migrants from Tuvalu, and it will take a longer timeframe for them to settle successfully in New Zealand.

The impact of Tuvalu culture on kaaiga Tuvalu in New Zealand

As earlier mentioned, there are strengths-based Tuvaluan concepts. There are also beliefs and practices that undermine the status of women and children. One area of conflict is between respect for Tuvalu’s male-dominated culture and human rights issues on improving the status of women and children in *kaaiga* Tuvalu in New Zealand.⁷⁹

The victim(s) does not speak up because: the perpetrator may be someone well liked and of high status in the community; and/or the victim(s) “may feel that nobody will listen to them”; and/or the victim may feel the “shame of violence occurring in the family”.⁸⁰

The community may not report the violence, believing that it is a private matter for the family concerned and not for public comment.

Tagata e pule ite kaaiga: expresses the dominance of men over women in the traditional Tuvaluan family structure, with regard to decision-making and authority in the household. This role can lead some men to have the misconception that they can do anything to their wives/spouses and children. Men can physically abuse their wives/children or put limits on some of their basic human rights simply because of their status as heads of the family.

Kini tamaliki: Tuvaluan culture tolerates the smacking of children as a form of discipline and is not viewed as violence.

Fakalavelave: are obligations and responsibilities of reciprocity fulfilled towards an individual’s *kaaiga*.⁸¹ Some of these *fakalavelave* require financial contributions from individuals for which it is difficult to budget.⁸² The majority of first-generation Tuvaluans in New Zealand have a strong sense of duty towards their *kaaiga*, *kaulotu*, *fenua* and *atufenua* both in New Zealand and in Tuvalu. This sense of obligation can have serious implications for individuals and *kaaiga* who live beyond their means by borrowing money that they struggle to repay. The ability of *kaaiga* to achieve successful settlement and financial independence in New Zealand is limited.

Arranged (or forced) marriages: There are two forms of this type of marriage. *Filifiliga o avaga fakamaatua* is where the parents of the man and/or woman are predominantly involved in arranging the marriage. The detrimental effects are experienced more by young women who are forced by their parents to marry much older men. The second is *potulama*, where the marriage is arranged through the community. The *potulama* is usually associated with a community-related work activity wherein a man makes an impromptu marriage proposal to a woman of his choice and the woman usually accepts the proposal of marriage. The community will then promptly conduct the marriage ceremony. *Potulama* is less likely to happen in New Zealand because of its association with a community work activity.

⁷⁹ United Nations, 2002.

⁸⁰ Selu, *ibid*.

⁸¹ Examples are 21st birthdays, weddings and funerals; *fenua* (building a community hall or contributing to an event in Tuvalu); *kaulotu* (building a worship centre); and *atufenua* such as natural disasters in Tuvalu.

⁸² Refer also to ‘reciprocity’ above[below?].

Conclusion

It is the hope of the Tuvalu Working Group that the Tuvalu Conceptual Framework will inform the development of intervention programmes and training materials to eliminate family violence from our Tuvalu families. Furthermore, the Tuvalu Conceptual Framework should be seen as one possible approach to addressing family violence.

While the issues discussed in this report are unique to Tuvalu culture, the Tuvalu *fatele* ‘*A galiga of fenua*’ reminds us that ‘the beauty in the Pacific lies in the unity of hearts’ and we ‘need to put our efforts together for the things we need in life’, such as preventing violence in our Pacific families and communities and nurturing strong and vibrant Pacific families.

Summary and conclusions

The vision: Wellbeing, and strong and vibrant families

The overall vision of the Framework is the wellbeing of Cook Islands, Fijian, Niuean, Sāmoan, Tokelau, Tongan and Tuvaluan families, communities, and individuals from these communities.

Continuums of wellbeing

A strengths-based approach begins with the premise that wellbeing is the primary state of being, of how one participates in, and engages within, family. The cultural context within which family wellbeing can be understood is genealogy. Genealogy is the archive of the individual’s familial origins and histories. It influences and is influenced by the individual’s lifetime choices of action and purpose. The individual face is the face of the collective family. Genealogy locates the individual in a place of strength from which to stand to exercise and fulfil duties and responsibilities within their family.

Genealogy transcends time. Its focus is to protect, preserve, and give prominence to spaces that connect and relate. Through genealogy, perceptions and experiences of familial wellbeing are holistic, integrated and interdependent. Genealogy is the cycle of familial wellbeing:

Figure 14.



Linear continuums are predisposed to notions of time, and are more likely to locate and explain events of wellbeing and disruptions to wellbeing in ordered sequences of events:

Figure 15.



Violence in any form can disrupt wellbeing at any number of points on these continuums. The causes of violence are not necessarily fixed in the present lifetime. They can be motivated by inter-generational histories, and even projected into the future.

Inherent in cyclic and linear continuums are philosophical tensions which can be damaging or dynamic to the processes of transformation and restoration of wellbeing. The diversity within Pacific families and individuals, and Western theories upon which practitioner practice is based, strongly suggests that both continuums must co-exist as independent paradigms of healing. The challenge for ethnic specific practitioners is how this is to be achieved.

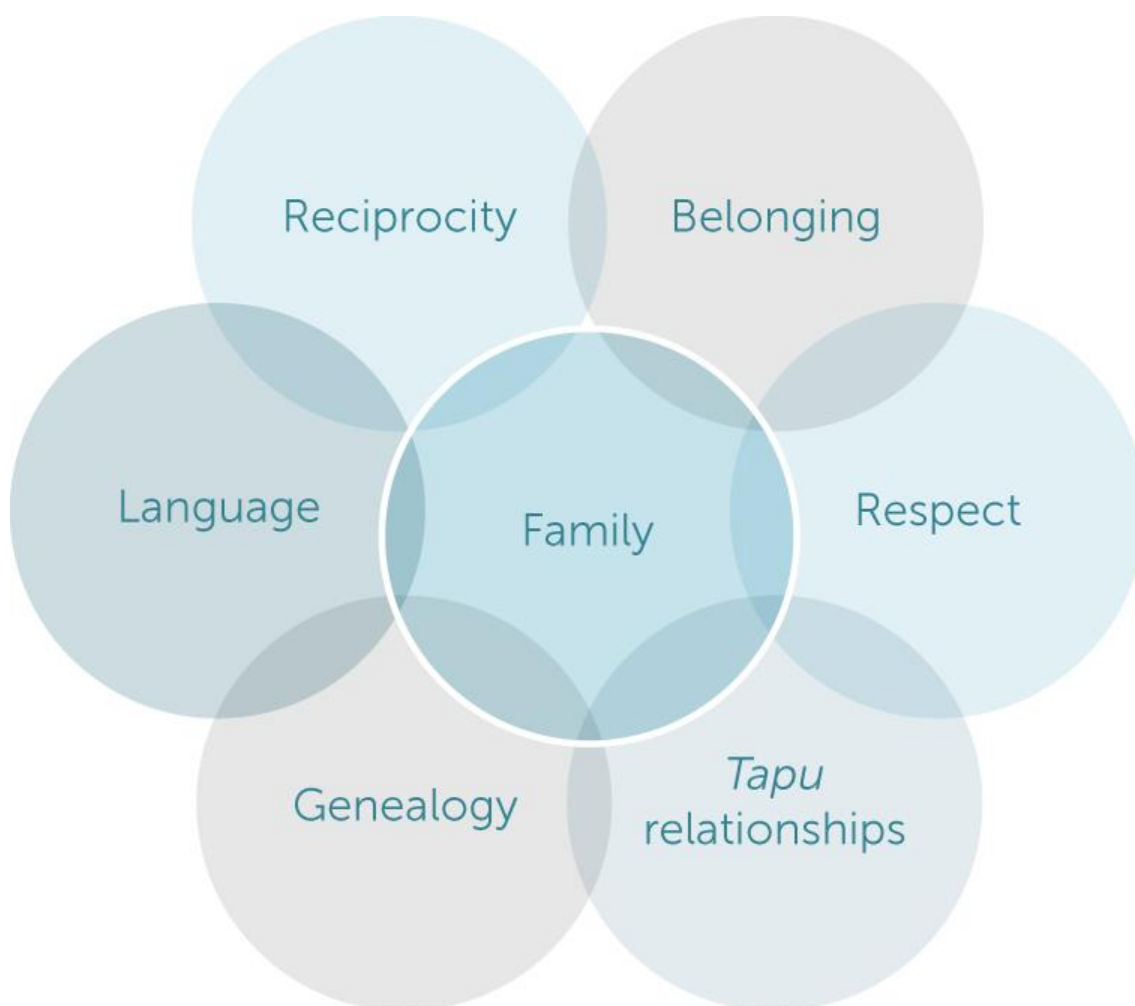
Key concepts that strengthen family wellbeing

Reciprocity, respect, genealogy, *tapu* relationships, language, and belonging are concepts that are highlighted across the seven ethnic specific communities as elements that protect and strengthen family wellbeing (Figure 9). There are concepts that are unique to some but not all ethnic groups.

<i>Reciprocity</i>	Concept of supporting family in times of need from a 'generosity of heart', supporting optimal family wellbeing: <i>loto alofa, loto kaiga, ngakau aro'a, ara tipoto, aiga e ola filemu, ora'anga mou, faka tupuolamoui, sautu, kaaiga ola filemu</i>
<i>Respect</i>	Face-to-face encounters of collective identities, places of belonging, genealogical lineages, roles, responsibilities, and heritage: <i>fa'aaloalo, aava, vakarokoroko veidokai, fakaaloalo</i>
<i>Genealogy</i>	Lineage of ancestors and descendents that locates an individual's potential and purpose in the family: <i>papa'anga tupuna, paolo ma gafa, kawa</i>
<i>Tapu relationships</i>	The spiritual dimension in relationships where there is acknowledgement of the sacred nature of family members. Defines boundaries of behaviour, language, thought: <i>vā tapuia, tuagaene, mate</i>
<i>Language of respect</i>	Language together with behaviour and ritual honours the relationships: <i>te gagana Tokelau, gagana fa'aaloalo</i>
<i>Belonging</i>	Place to stand based on genealogy. Defines roles and responsibilities in the family: <i>turanga, fa'asinomaga</i>

Concepts and values are intimately interconnected and on their own do not fulfil the purpose or potential of their meanings. A single concept is dependent on the active attendance of related concepts to provide meaning and give emphasis to nuances.

Figure 16. Active attendance of all related concepts



The English translations of these concepts give a sense of commonality across the ethnic specific groups. In the ethnic specific languages and articulations of meaning, there are some streams of agreement at a philosophical level. In the day-to-day routine of living out these concepts, however, understandings across and within each ethnic community can be as diverse as they are distinctive.

Elements of the Framework

Akono'anga Māori (Cook Islands); *Tovo vaka Viti* (Fiji); *aga fakaNiue* (Niue); *fa'aSāmoa* (Sāmoa); *Tū ma aganuku o Tokelau* (Tokelau); *anga fakaTonga* (Tonga); *Tu mo faifaiga faka Tuvalu* (Tuvalu) all contain the “expressions of knowledge, beliefs, customs, morals, arts and personality” (Turanga Māori, 2012) of their peoples. For ease of reference, they are independently and collectively referred to as culture.

Elements for each of the seven ethnic specific Conceptual Frameworks are unique to the experiences and beliefs of that community, and reference should be made to their reports.

Practice imperatives

Key points made in regard to practice imperatives are:

- While culture is dynamic and evolves to meet the needs of successive generations, the values and principles remain constant.

- Culture is not prescriptive and enables practitioners, victims, perpetrators and their families to engage in ways that are relevant, flexible and meaningful to their circumstances.
- Misinterpretations and distortions of the values and principles that protect and maintain family wellbeing lead to violence and violations.
- Education is a critical aspect in preventing and eliminating family violence.
- Finding alternatives to violence is the responsibility of practitioners and the whole community.
- New and existing approaches to transforming behaviour and restoring wellbeing to families need to be conscientiously re-examined and reconsidered within the context of ethnic specific cultures.

Effective practitioners have good knowledge and understanding

These include:

1. their personal limitations, strengths and opportunities
2. constituents of culture such as village, family, political institutions:
 - how to communicate effectively with people raised in island homelands and with people born in New Zealand
 - the impact of colonisation on culture and in particular significant covenants and sacred relationships within the family
 - working with people whose behaviour might include manipulation by being boastful, opportunism, dependency and reliance, co-dependency
3. working with one's own family in an insider-outsider role. The practitioner is able to move fluidly between the roles as circumstances demand:
 - insider-insider: needs strong support and supervision
 - outsider-Insider: needs to engage well with insiders
 - journeying with people; recognising and acknowledging their insights into their illusions. The values associated with this commitment are love, being trustworthy, loyalty, prudent and practical
4. the New Zealand environment in terms of family violence, and in particular:
 - its institutions and systems
 - different arrangements and dynamics within families
 - the dynamics and structure of village settings
 - the dynamics and structure of churches
 - facilitating family groups and working on a one-to-one basis
 - tracking families
 - delivering intervention that is forthright, direct, and confronting of behaviour and attitudes
 - the ability to rekindle knowledge and to introduce new knowledge.

Effective practitioners have competency at accredited levels

This includes:

- cultural language (formal and informal)
- critical analysis of violence and violation.

This list of skills and strengths-based concepts is not exhaustive. They provide opportunities for practitioners, victim(s), perpetrators(s) and *‘āiga* to work together in a manner that is appropriate and meaningful to their situation.

Pacific ethnic specific practitioners as educators

The ‘effective’ ethnic specific practitioner as educator has a responsibility for providing information to perpetrators, victims and families on the causes and impacts of violence, and to provide alternatives to violence. The responsibility of the individual and the collective family is to want to change, and to make the change.

Practice imperatives

The imperatives are driven by ethnic specific and professional ethical principles and ethnic specific practitioners must have a strong understanding of and competency and belief in these. The importance of language needs to be acknowledged as one crucial entry point into understanding the changing complexities of any one culture, its associated attitudes and behaviour.

Each imperative is context specific and should be understood and applied within the definitions of that ethnic group. These standards of best practice will change to meet the needs of successive generations and the circumstances that challenge them.

The significance of this work is an acknowledgement that solutions to finding ways of ending family violence can be found within the knowledge places and life experiences of the families of these ethnic specific communities.

Transformation and restoration to wellbeing

‘Āiga, Ngutuare tangata, Kainga, Famili, Kāiga, Magafaoa Niue, Vuvale, Kaaiga Tuvalu are the heart of the seven ethnic specific cultures. Language, rituals that affirm belonging, and sacred relationships contribute to their wellbeing. Violence in these ethnic specific spaces is the wake-up call to the loss of connected identities.

Central to understanding the pathways to transformation and restoration of wellbeing to individuals and families is recognition of their epistemological groundings and philosophical worldviews, genealogies, socio-historical contexts, the contemporary beliefs held and the practices that ethnic specific families participate in.

A key approach to addressing family violence is recognising that acts of violence against family members are also violations of sacred and *tapu* covenants upon which relationships of respect between individuals and the family collectives are premised. Acts of violence that are visited upon an individual are violations against members of the perpetrator’s and victim’s children and families. The process for transformation and restoration must take into account the individual as a whole being, and the whole family.

Acknowledgements

The Ministry of Social Development would like to acknowledge and thank the following people who have contributed to the design and development of the Pacific Conceptual Framework, Literature Review and ethnic specific Pacific frameworks.

Special thanks to Maiava Carmel Peteru the main writer of the Pacific Conceptual Framework and Sāmoa Conceptual Framework and author of the Literature Review.

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Special thanks and appreciation to the reviewers of the ethnic specific Frameworks

H.E. Hon Tekaotiki Matapo	Cook Islands
Mr Malakai Jiko	Fiji
Mrs Tarisi Vunidilo	Fiji
Dr Vili Nosa	Niue
Reverend Tom Etuata	Niue
Dr Lonise Tanielu	Sāmoa
Mr Amosa Fa'afoi	Tokelau
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The Ministry also acknowledges and thanks the following people who assisted in the outset of the first fono held around the country and the work required which includes thanking everyone who attended the 'Champions of Change' fono and regional fono.

To Richard Wood, former Deputy Chief Executive of Family and Community Services (FACS) and his team, in particular former officials Liz Tanielu, Faalogo Va'ai and Ann Dysart, Manager Community Relations.

And to Dr Colin Tukuitonga the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs and his staff, and also to Metua Bates (ALAC), thank you.



MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Te Manatū Whakahiato Ora



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